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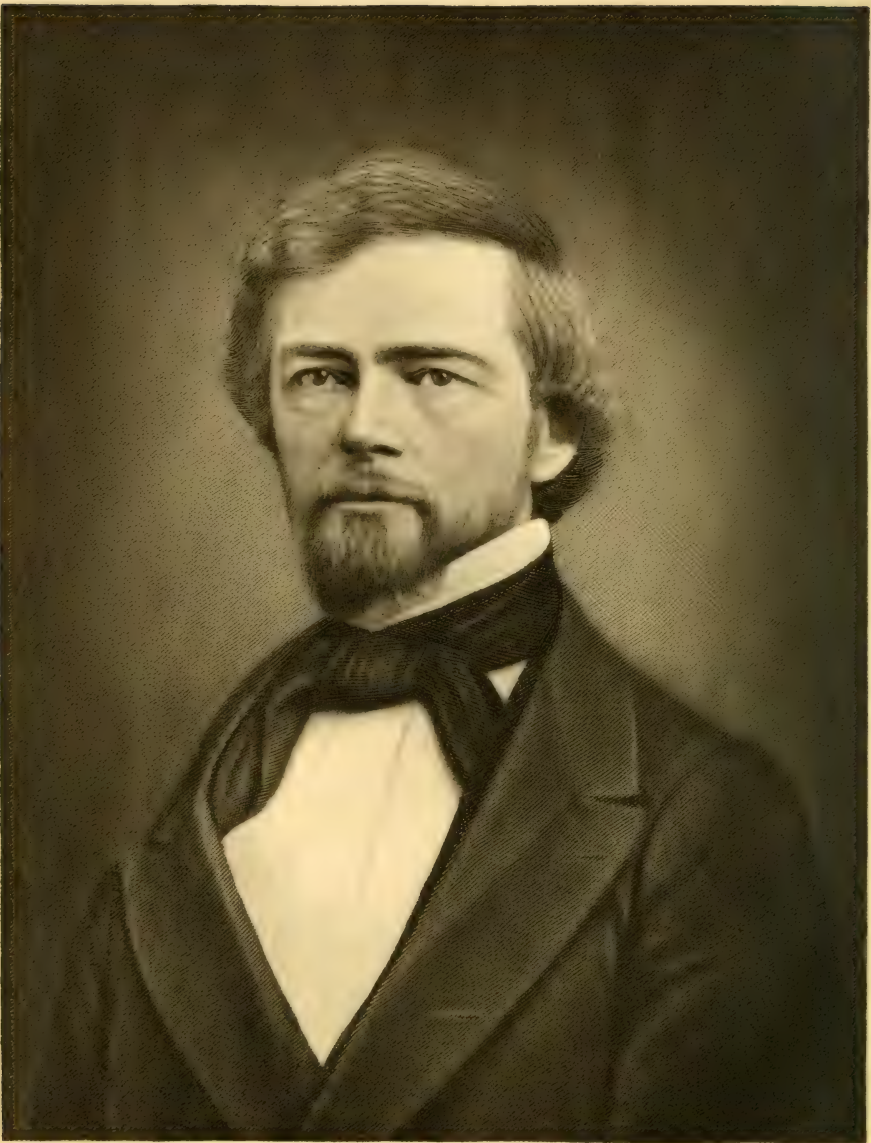


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HISTORY OF WASHINGTON



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Isaac J. Stevens

History of Washington

REVISED EDITION (1926)

~~Author's Preface~~ ~~Editor's Preface~~

~~Author's Note on the Revised Edition~~

The Rise and Progress of an American State

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VOLUME ONE



THE UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS

ANN ARBOR

MICHIGAN

1964

ISAAC INGALLS STEVENS

FIRST GOVERNOR OF WASHINGTON TERRITORY

Born at Andover, Mass., March 28, 1818; educated at West Point, graduating first in his class in 1840; promoted first lieutenant July 1, 1842; served as adjutant of the engineer corps during the war with Mexico, brevetted captain at Chapultepec, major at Molino del Rey, and at the taking of the city of Mexico was severely wounded; superintended fortifications on the New England coast 1841-7; charge of coast survey office in Washington, D. C., September 1849; appointed governor of Washington Territory March 17, 1853; elected delegate to Congress 1857, re-elected in 1859; chairman of executive committee of the Breckenridge party in 1860; colonel of the 79th New York regiment 1861, and made a major general of volunteers July 4, 1862; killed at Chantilly, Va., September 1, 1863.

Isaac Stevens

History of Washington

The Rise and Progress of an
American State

By
CLINTON A. SNOWDEN

Advisory Editors
CORNELIUS H. HANFORD, MILES C. MOORE, WILLIAM D. TYLER
STEPHEN J. CHADWICK

VOLUME ONE



THE CENTURY HISTORY COMPANY
NEW YORK
1909



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John C. Rankin Company
for
The Century History Company

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Publication Office
54 Doy Street, New York, N. Y.
U. S. A.

TO
MY MOTHER
AND THE MEMORY OF MY FATHER
THEY WERE PIONEERS

PREFACE.

THE materials from which alone a history of Washington can be written have nowhere been assembled in one collection, with any degree of completeness. The State Historical Society has done something, but the material it has gathered is not yet arranged so as to be readily available. The State University also has a considerable collection which it is steadily and very methodically increasing. The State Library has something. The shelves of the Oregon Historical Society also hold much that is as valuable to the historian of Washington as of Oregon, and is equally at his disposal.

It is to be regretted that the State government has not already made such provision as most other States have made for collecting, arranging and preserving the materials for its history. The work can be done thoroughly and well at very moderate cost, once it is begun in a proper way. The greatest need will be for a competent secretary, whose heart will be in the work, who has already displayed some genius for it, and who has a wide acquaintance among the earlier settlers now living.

There are in the State several private collections of historical material of value, and one of the best, if not certainly the best of these, was early placed at my disposal. Mr. Clarence B. Bagley of Seattle has been a most enterprising, patient and intelligent collector for many years past, and now has, in addition to the standard authorities, complete files of all the earlier, and most of the later, newspapers published in the territory and state, together with a mass of documents and manuscripts, that possibly at the present time could not be duplicated. In this excellent collection

are several hundred pages copied from the letters and diaries of Dr. Whitman and his associates, by the late Prof. William I. Marshall of Chicago, as well as files of letters written by or to the Hudson's Bay Company factors and the early mill companies, and many letters of the early settlers. All this material, I have been permitted to use as freely as though it were my own. Mr. Bagley has not only given me free access to his library, permitting me to select and carry away, for the time being, such books and papers as I required, but he has devoted much time, particularly during the latter part of my work, to selecting and arranging books, papers, manuscripts, old letters and books of account, as I required them. I am confident that no one who has engaged in a similar work ever found a more competent, more generous, or more valuable assistant, and I gratefully acknowledge the service he has so willingly rendered.

I also acknowledge my indebtedness to the family of the late Edward Huggins, for access to the journals and books of account of the Hudson's Bay Company and Puget Sound Agricultural Company, kept at Fort Nisqually, and for the use of several manuscripts written by Mr. Huggins during the later years of his life, some of which at least have never been published.

Hon. F. W. Cushman has kindly obtained for me much valuable information from the various departments in Washington. I am also indebted to Miss Isabel Smith, an assistant to the librarian of the navy department, for copies of documents, and the use of maps and books. Many other people have aided me in various ways. The early settlers of the territory and their descendants alone have seemed indifferent; of the many letters I have written them asking for information, which in most cases they alone possess, nearly all remain unanswered.

Agreeably to the plan pursued by the publishers in producing the histories of other States, a board of editors was arranged for at the beginning, partly to assist the author in gathering his materials, and more particularly as a guarantee that his work would be faithfully done. These gentlemen have displayed a helpful interest in the work from the beginning. Judge Hanford being the most accessible of their number, I have conferred with him most frequently, and have received from him much assistance and encouragement. He has patiently read all the manuscript before it went to the printer, and while we have sometimes differed about matters of opinion, I feel sure that both he and the others are satisfied of the general accuracy of the narrative.

C. A. S.

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CHAPTER I.

A QUESTION OF TITLE.

THE history of Washington is a part of, and essentially the same as, the history of Oregon during its earlier years. The Washington of to-day was originally a part of that vaster Oregon which extended from California, then a part of Mexico, on the south, to an undefined boundary,—by many claimed to be the line of $54^{\circ} 40'$ north, or the southern boundary of Alaska, but finally fixed by the treaty of 1846 at the forty-ninth parallel,—and from the Pacific Ocean to the summit of the Rocky Mountains. Until California was acquired, at the close of the Mexican war in 1848, Oregon was the only territory owned or claimed by the United States, bordering on the Pacific, and its possession has made desirable, if indeed it has not made necessary, the possession of all that has since been acquired there, including Alaska and the Hawaiian Islands. The value of this vast region was for many years but lightly regarded either by our government or its people. It was the first territory to be acquired by a new government, not yet ambitious to become a world power, nor anticipating the vast destiny which was, within a hundred years, to give it a preponderating influence in the affairs of mankind. When in the succeeding years, the quickening influence of our free institutions upon individual enterprises, the progress of invention, the enlargement of capital and the betterment of facilities for its employment, the extension of exploration, and more than all the creation of new means of transportation, expediting and cheapening the exchange of the varied products of the labor of an industrious people, had made expansion more desirable, many if not most of our statesmen were anxious to extend our borders southward, acquiring territory in which slave labor might be profitably used, and not

specially concerned even to retain what might belong to us farther north where slavery could not go.

For many years the Rocky Mountains were regarded as our nation's natural western boundary. Few even among those who most staunchly and persistently defended our title to the Columbia River Country, as it was called for many years after Gray's discovery, did so in the expectation that it would ever become a part of the United States. Their utmost hope was that it would be inhabited by a kindred people, with institutions and a government similar to our own. This was the whole expectation and hope of Jefferson, of Jackson and for many years of Benton, and many others, in regard to it.

It is the only territory the United States has ever acquired by discovery, exploration and settlement; the only territory that cost us nothing in cash by way of purchase, or by the use of military or naval force. It was in the diplomatic correspondence in regard to it that what we now know as the Monroe doctrine was first declared, by John Quincy Adams, who was then secretary of state in Mr. Monroe's cabinet, and it was in the long and earnest consideration of its needs and requirements by Congress that our present system of land laws, which has done so much to provide homes for settlers, and change the whole region west of the Mississippi from a wilderness into well peopled and prosperous States, had its beginning. This territory was temporarily lost to the United States during the war of 1812, but England was compelled to restore it in 1818, agreeable to the provisions of the treaty of Ghent. We then permitted a British monopoly to occupy and control it for a period of more than twenty years, during which our ships were practically driven from its waters, and our traders

were unable to do business within its borders, although guaranteed equal privileges in it with the subjects of Great Britain, by the faith of both nations solemnly pledged. The only law enforced or respected in it was British law, and the only constituted authorities were British authorities. A condition so anomolous probably never before prevailed, for so long a time, in any country in the world, and it might have much longer continued but for the courage, the patriotism and the moderation of the early pioneers, who heroically forced their way through two thousand miles of wilderness, inhabited only by savages and wild beasts, founded a government of their own, and completed the national title to the country by a claim that could no longer be disputed or resisted.

The magnificent empire, whose early history was so varied and interesting, originally comprised all that is now included within the boundaries of Oregon, Washington and Idaho, and a considerable part of Montana and Wyoming. Its area, according to the limits finally fixed by the treaty of 1846, was something more than two hundred and eighty-eight thousand square miles. It was larger than Texas, and more than four times larger than the six New England States, which now support a population of more than five and one-half millions; more than one-third larger than France, or the German or Austrian Empire; more than one-fourth larger than Spain and Portugal, and more than two and one-half times larger than New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland combined. It is possibly capable of supporting a population as dense as that of the German Empire, which now amounts to more than sixty million people. It is altogether within the bounds of expectation, that it will at no very distant day be one of the most

densely populated parts of the United States. Its maritime and manufacturing possibilities are very great, and while there is some waste land along the tops of its mountain ranges, and a few strips here and there of sandy deserts, its fertile valleys and great interior plains of volcanic ash, and rich alluvial deposits are especially adapted to a high state of cultivation, and will, in the near future, give support and profitable employment to a vast army of people.

Without calling to mind very carefully what the conditions were in the beginning of the eighteenth century, we cannot comprehend the indifference with which the people of the United States regarded the possession of this most valuable region at that time. We of the present day are so familiar with the map of the United States as we now know it, that we do not easily conceive what it would be if we had no outlet upon the Pacific Ocean. To us, it seems that we have always owned California and the coast northward, because the maps with which we have long been familiar have so shown. But for many years after the nineteenth century opened we owned nothing upon this coast, except the Oregon of that day, and our title to that was disputed, and by no means very confidently contended for by those who were then in authority. Our title was as good then as it is now, but Great Britain, always aggressive in the acquirement of new territory, and forced to be so in order to provide markets for the manufactured products of her overcrowded population, had set up a claim to it, and in the progress of time had so strengthened it in various ways, and our government had so far neglected, and yielded so much in regard to it, that the whole might easily have been lost but for the noble and aggressive enterprise of our early settlers. There were statesmen of that day who boldly declared that our claim

to Oregon was a menace to the national tranquillity; that its possession could never be of value, and would instead be a source of trouble and anxiety. They wished that we might be well rid of it, and that the Rocky Mountains might be made an impenetrable barrier for our protection on the west.

Had the voice of these statesmen prevailed, we should probably now have no outlet to the Pacific, and no part in the profitable and rapidly developing commerce with the Orient; we should have no transcontinental railroads; we should not own either California, Alaska or the Hawaiian Islands. The vast enterprises which have opened up to settlement, and already populated a large part of the old West, which we now know as the Middle West, would never have taken form, and the country, bounded by an impassable barrier on its western side, would have no outlet by sea to the civilized world except toward the east. Such a country would have as little resemblance to the United States of to-day as the kingdom of Henry VIII bears to the empire of Edward VII, or as the France of Louis XIV bore to the empire of Napoleon.

But our statesmen of that day were occupied with many matters that no longer give us concern or anxiety, and are now happily disposed of, and by most people forgotten. The administrations of Washington and the first Adams were fully occupied with organizing and establishing a new government, the first of its kind ever undertaken by humankind; in making treaties of commerce and amity with foreign nations; in establishing order in the national finances; in suppressing whisky insurrections in Pennsylvania, and repelling the incursions of savages along the border. There is no certain evidence that any considerable number of people,

who ought to have been so much interested in the matter ever knew before Thomas Jefferson became president, that during Washington's first term in office a Boston sailor had discovered a great river on the Pacific Coast of the continent, and explored the shores of the ocean contiguous to it so far as to give our infant government title to a new domain equal in area to more than one-third of that of the States and territories of that day. Indeed the fact seems never to have been published until the report of Vancouver's voyages was printed in 1798, and as these volumes were issued in London, it is certain that they were not widely read at the time in the United States.

Possibly if they had known they would have cared little, for the frontier of their time had only recently passed the Alleghanies, and the unsettled and largely unexplored territory then owned, seemed to be more than there would be need for, for many generations. But three new States—Vermont, Kentucky and Tennessee—had then joined the original thirteen, and the total population of the sixteen was only 5,305,453. Ten years later Ohio had been admitted and the total population had increased to 7,239,881. People were nowhere overcrowded, nor did it perhaps occur to any that there would ever be any overcrowding. Even in the oldest settlements the population was no more than a fraction of what it is at the present day. There are no reliable statistics showing what the immigration was at that time, but twenty years later, it did not exceed eight thousand per year, and some years it did not exceed seven thousand. There was still abundant room between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi, and even farther east, for western New York was still spoken of as a part of "the far West." Cleveland was on the remote frontier, and Detroit was a military post

in the wilderness. As little was then known of Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and Michigan as we now know about that part of British America which borders on the Arctic Ocean.

The national capital had just been transferred to a new city on the north bank of the Potomac River. One reason for locating it there was that it would be near the center of population, which was then not far from Baltimore, and many believed it would never vary greatly from that neighborhood. Some professed to believe if it did, it would go eastward, whereas it has steadily moved westward, and is now not far from the middle of southern Indiana. At no very distant day it will cross the Mississippi and may ultimately rest not far from Kansas City.

In Mr. Jefferson's time people were not as promptly informed when important discoveries were made, as they are at the present day. Newspapers were few and they contained but little news. They were, for the most part, made up of public documents, of letters sent to the editor by his subscribers who had, or who thought they had, something to say that would interest their neighbors, and of more or less uninteresting articles copied from foreign publications. They were circulated exclusively through the mails. There was not a news stand, a news boy or a news dealer of any sort in any city. They were forwarded only when the press of other matter that paid a higher rate of postage permitted. Between the larger cities and some of the principal towns the mail was carried by stages, but over the much larger area it was carried by postboys on horseback. The volume of matter that could be carried in this way was not large. The rate on papers was one cent per copy to all points within the State in which they were published; if sent beyond

State lines, as few were, the price was higher. The postage rate on letters was six cents for each sheet, for 30 miles or less, 10 cents for 100 miles, and 25 cents for 300 miles or over. Such conveniences as postage stamps and envelopes were not yet known. When the letter mail was sufficiently heavy to fill the postboy's bag, newspapers were forced to wait, and sometimes did not reach their destination until weeks after publication.

The publication of government reports was neither as prompt nor as voluminous as at the present day. Our government did not then as now maintain the largest printing office in the world, nor did it publish even the most important reports and documents as promptly, or send them out as freely as it does now, to all who will receive them. The official journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition were not published in full until eight years after the expedition returned, and even then they were prepared, printed and sent out by private enterprise. Meantime a more or less spurious report was printed and reprinted seven times in this country and in Europe, and the journal of Sergeant Patrick Gass, who accompanied the expedition, ran through six editions, showing how widespread the interest was in what the explorers had done.

When the means of compiling, printing and distributing reliable information were so few, and these few were so indifferently used, it is not surprising that people generally should be slow to perceive the advantage that might follow the purchase of Louisiana, or the value the new republic might find in the acquirement of Oregon; nor is it surprising that their credulity should be imposed upon by the story that there was in the former a mountain of pure salt, one hundred and eighty miles long by forty-five in width, or

assertions that the shores of the latter were "beat by perpetual storms of whirlwind and dire hail." Ill supplied and ill nourished minds, like ill fed stomachs, often readily receive that which is neither true nor wholesome and reject that which is both. So when Mr. Jefferson collected and sent to the Senate and House of Representatives, in 1806, the various letters and reports containing the salt mountain story and much other information in regard to Louisiana, comprising altogether what Mr. McMaster calls "the most remarkable document any president has ever sent to Congress,"* and while his enemies bitterly attacked and criticised it, there were many who thought that all the wonders described might possibly exist there. And when a member of the Senate, nearly a generation later, described the climate of western Oregon as cold and inhospitable, and its soil as barren and practically worthless, his statements were received as entirely probable. Had he contended that the country of Brobdingnag was located near the Strait of Fuca, where that voracious chronicler, Lemuel Gulliver, had placed it a hundred years earlier, the statement would doubtless have been received as quite probable. Had he truthfully said as he might have done, had he known the truth, that in its vast forests there were single trees growing to a height of 300 feet, and yielding 25,000 feet of good lumber per tree, the story would have seemed very Brobdingnagian indeed.

But the great reason why most people took so little interest in the newly discovered region was, not so much that they would have no need for it, as that they never would be able to make any use of it, even if they should care to do so. It

* McMaster's History of the People of the United States. Vol. II., p. 631.

was separated from the territory our government then owned, by a wilderness of unknown extent that belonged to a foreign power. It could be reached only by sailing ships, going round Cape Horn, a voyage that required many months, or possibly through frozen straits not yet discovered, but still supposed to exist somewhere in the northern part of the continent. If it could ever be reached by an overland route it would be by a journey of some thousands of miles. How could such a journey ever be made, and if made what profit could ever come of it?

There were then no railroads, or canals, or steamboats, or telegraphs. The inventor of the locomotive was still a youth, working as a stoker in Black Callerton Colliery in northern England, and earning a few extra pennies now and again by mending shoes and watches. The inventor of the telegraph was a schoolboy, showing some aptitude for drawing and painting, and hoping to acquire fame and a competence, as a painter of portraits. Robert Fulton had nearly completed a model of his steamboat, and would soon be in France seeking the patronage and encouragement of General Napoleon Bonaparte, then just at the beginning of his marvelous career. The boy who when a man was to discover that a current of electricity sent through a coil of wire wound around a piece of soft iron, would make a magnet of it, and so open the way to all the modern uses of electricity, would soon be employed as a grocer's clerk in a little village near Albany, and begin to nourish the hope that he might some day be an actor. The collection of electrical machines in the laboratory of Harvard College twenty years later, was as large, probably, as any to be found anywhere; it consisted merely of two Franklin electrical machines, a few Leyden jars, and a handful of pith balls. That any

electrical machine would ever be more than a toy was hardly even guessed.

There was not then, anywhere on the globe, a public conveyance of any kind, except stages, that carried goods or passengers from one point to another at regular intervals, according to an advertised schedule. Such common conveniences as street cars and omnibuses were not found in any city. If anyone had occasion to go from one country to another by sea, he went to the nearest port, as did Jonah, when he went to Joppa, and waited there till "he found a ship going to Tarshish, when he paid his fare and went down into it." If he did not find a ship going to the particular city he desired to visit, he took passage in one going to some neighboring port or country, from which he made his way as best he could to his destination. If he had some important message he wished to forward as quickly as possible, he made the best arrangements offering, and often sent it in a very roundabout way because no ship could be found to take it direct. When John Jay had concluded his negotiations with the British cabinet in November 1794, he sent copies of his famous treaty by two different ships, hoping that one of them might arrive before Congress should adjourn on the 3d of March following. But so slow were the ships in making port that Congress adjourned before either copy reached Philadelphia, which was then the capital. The first copy to arrive came to Norfolk, Va., and the messengers who bore it thence to Philadelphia, on horseback, killed several horses on the way. News of the famous Orders in Council issued by the British cabinet in 1806, in response to Napoleon's Berlin decree, was first received in this country at Boston, coming over in twenty-eight days from Liverpool, which was then considered a remarkably quick passage, and

news of the battle of New Orleans was twenty-seven days in reaching Washington in 1815.

What is now generally called power, whether of steam or electricity, that element which has so vastly increased the empire of man over the material world, though known, was still so imperfectly applied and so rarely used, as to be of little value. Watt had grown rich by the manufacture of his steam engines, and was about retiring from business, but the uses made of his invention were few. It was applied in England to drive pumps in mines, as it had been in Newcomen's time, and to turn the spinning machines of Hargreaves, Arkwright and Crompton, Paul's carding machine, the loom which Cartwright had invented, and the rolls by which John Cort was making a few bars of iron per day, at his mills in Gosport. But the inventors of all these machines were forbidden by law to send them out of England, or even to allow their patterns or drawings to get into the hands of those who might carry them to foreign countries. Their use therefore increased but slowly. In 1789 Samuel Slater, who had worked with Arkwright in the manufacture of his machines, and had helped him to improve them, came to America, and from memory drew up plans, and constructed models of all the spinning and weaving machines he had seen in England, and in 1800 had furnished machines for two mills which were then in operation in Rhode Island, and they were the only ones then on this continent that were supplied with power machines for making cotton or woolen cloth. Ten years later there were only fifteen such cotton mills in the United States, nearly all of which were driven by horse power, and as late as 1809 Albert Gallatin, then secretary of the treasury, reported to Congress as the result of a careful investigation, that more than three-fourths of

the cotton and woolen goods worn by the American people, were manufactured in their own homes. In manufactures of iron, progress had not been more rapid. The ore was still smelted in open forges, and hammered into bars by hand. Rolled bars were not made on this side of the Atlantic until 1816, and the steam hammer was not invented until 1837. Such useful articles as kitchen stoves, now so universally found in the homes of the poorest, were then scarcely used at all. They could be manufactured only at the smelting furnaces, and the cost of their transportation was so great, that even when manufactured they could not be distributed to any considerable distance among those who could afford to purchase them. Not any of the great power tools which now so enormously multiply man's productive ability, had yet been made. Nowhere in the United States was there a single factory in which finished goods were made from raw materials.

So little had been done to diversify the occupations of mankind that the great majority were forced to find their means of living in tilling the soil. In the older communities such artisans as the blacksmith, the wheelwright, the carpenter, the tailor and the shoemaker, the butcher and the baker were found in every village; in the newer, most of these, together with the doctor, who was also the dentist, and the preacher traveled from town to town in search of employment. In the larger cities along the coast, shipwrights, tanners, rope makers and sail makers found a more or less steady demand for their services, and sometimes as many as one hundred men would be kept busy by a single employer. But the number of these was not sufficient to consume the surplus products of the farms. The farmer's market was therefore limited and the cost of transporting what he had to sell

was very great. Roads everywhere were very bad. As little was known about roadmaking as about any other art. The demand for new roads was so great that neither the counties nor the States could provide money to build them as rapidly as they were needed, and keep them in repair, by any system of taxation which the people could endure. Accordingly public money began to be used to open new roads in the more sparsely settled regions, while those in the older regions were turned over to corporations who improved them and collected toll from those who used them. The rate charged was everywhere so excessive as to cause universal complaint. In New England a road wagon drawn by four horses was charged $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents for each two miles. In New Jersey 1 cent per mile for every horse was demanded. In Pennsylvania and Maryland the rate depended on the width of the tires, and the number of horses, and varied from sixpence to 2 cents per horse for every two miles. In Virginia the rate was 25 cents for twelve miles.

The cost of transportation everywhere was excessive. The average rate the country through was \$10 per ton per hundred miles. It cost \$125 to move a ton from Philadelphia to Pittsburg. To send a barrel of flour from the upper part of the valley of the Susquehanna to Philadelphia cost \$1.25. To send it from Buffalo to Montreal, then a better market for the people living north and west of Albany than New York, cost \$1.50. To move a bushel of salt three hundred miles cost \$2.50, and it cost \$5 to send one hundredweight of sugar the same distance. Articles that could not stand these rates were shut out of market, and among these were grain and flour which could not bear transportation more than 150 miles, unless they could be sent along some all-water route. The early settlers in Kentucky, Tennessee

and Ohio, could sell their flour and bacon only at New Orleans. There was no means of getting it to that distant market, except by flat boats, and as no farmer ever had enough to spare to load a boat, but little of their surplus went to market at all.

Farmers in the first decade of the nineteenth century tilled their land with implements but little better than those used by the Greeks and Romans, or even by the Egyptians, the Assyrians and Chaldeans in far earlier times. The wooden plow, possibly rudely improved by an iron share, was everywhere used. Charles Newbold, a resident of New Jersey, had invented an iron plow in 1798, but most farmers were still afraid to use it, fearing it would poison their land. Thomas Jefferson had also improved this useful instrument but this invention was used only on his own farm at Monticello. Wheat, oats and rye were harvested with the sickle, or possibly with a cradle, and threshed with flails, or tramped out by horses or cattle. In the older settled regions, they were ground into flour in mills driven by water power; in the newer ones along the frontier, horse power was used, and sometimes the grain was pounded in a mortar, or grated on a tin grater, roughly made by punching some holes with a nail through the bottom of an old tin pan. Not one of the many labor-saving machines with which farmers are now everywhere familiar had then been invented or thought of.

The farmer's wife boiled the family meals in a pot, or baked them in a Dutch oven before an open fire. The table furniture of the time was largely of tin and pewter, and not infrequently the farmer ate what was set before him, with meekness and fear, from a wooden trencher. His wife, in addition to the family cooking and washing, spun and wove the linsey-woolsey that made the family clothing, did the family

sewing and mending, looked after the dairy, made butter and cheese, and in her leisure moments knit the stockings for the family, and sometimes a few extra pairs to be traded at the nearest store for the family groceries.

Labor was cheap, and those who worked for wages were forced to compete, in the Southern States, with the unpaid labor of negro slaves, and in the North with that of white laborers whose condition was but little better than that of slaves. Many people in foreign countries sold themselves, for a term of years, and sometimes their wives and children also, to ship captains, to obtain passage to this country. On arrival here they were sold at auction to such as would buy, the highest bidder being he who would pay the captain the sum he demanded—usually a little more than \$100—in return for the labor of the poor immigrant for the shortest term. This term was usually from three to eight years for a man or woman, and somewhat shorter for a child. At the auctions where these people were sold, wives were separated from husbands and children from their parents, as ruthlessly as colored slaves were separated in the South. During the term agreed upon the “redemptioner,” as he was called, was to be clothed and fed, but was to receive no other compensation until his term of service was ended, when he was to have a suit of new clothes, a grubbing hoe, a weeding hoe, and an ax, to help him to begin life on his own account.

The condition of those who were forced to compete with labor of this kind was hopeless and miserable enough. Farm laborers were fed and lodged by their employers, and paid but little more in cash than would clothe them. Those who worked on the canals, then just beginning to be built, and offering the surest opportunity of employment, were fed

on the coarsest diet, housed in the rudest sheds and paid six dollars per month from May to November, and five dollars a month from November to May. Hod carriers and mortar mixers, diggers and choppers, who from 1793 to 1800 labored on the public buildings, and cut the streets and avenues in the new capital city of Washington, received seventy dollars a year, or if they wished, sixty dollars for all the work they could do from March first to December twentieth. The hours of labor were from sunrise to sunset. Wages at New York and Albany were forty cents a day; at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, eight to ten dollars a month, and elsewhere in the State six dollars a month in summer and five in winter. At Baltimore men thought themselves fortunate to get employment at eighteen pence a day. In Maryland wages averaged about six dollars per month, and in Virginia from six to seven. In the latter State white men, when employed by the year, were paid sixteen pounds currency; slaves, when hired, were clothed and their masters were paid a pound a month, a pound being equal to three dollars and thirty-three cents. The average wage rate the country over was not above sixty-five dollars a year with food and lodging.*

The law still permitted imprisonment for debt. The poor laborer who might not be able to obtain employment for a time was thrown into jail if he did not pay his grocer for the food obtained to keep his children from starving. If he was sick he might be, and often was, carried away and locked up before he was able to go to work again, because he could not pay some bill contracted before or during his illness. The jails everywhere were full of debtors. In New

*McMaster's History of the People of the United States. Vol. II., p. 617.

York City in 1809 no less than thirteen thousand men were imprisoned for no other offense than that they had been ruined by the embargo of the previous year. In the succeeding year eleven hundred and fifty were sent to jail in the same city for debts under twenty-five dollars. Down to about the close of the eighteenth century, the condition of the poor delinquent when once arrested was worse than that of a murderer, a thief or a forger. No provision was made to feed, clothe or lodge him, to provide medicine if he were ill or bury him if he died. He was thrown into an empty cell without a bed, a cot, a table or a chair. He sat on the floor, slept on it without a blanket, or even a rag to cover him, and ate off it, if he could find anything to eat, for no food was provided for him except by charity. As the new century was about to dawn some of the States began to modify their laws for the punishment of unfortunate debtors, and provision was made that fuel and blankets should be supplied to such as were too poor to get them for themselves, and that seven cents a day for food should be allowed and charged against the creditor, and if he failed to pay after ten days notice his debtor should be discharged. This law was regarded as so beneficent, and so lenient to the poor wretches who suffered under it, that no further change was made in it until 1814.

Combinations of capital through the agency of corporations, for great undertakings, were rarely made. When corporations were formed at all they were usually to build toll roads or canals, or establish banks. Great fortunes were not numerous, but there were a few that were perhaps as much out of proportion to the wealth of the average citizen of the time as the "swollen fortunes" of the present. John Jacob Astor had well laid the foundation of his wealth

which at his death, forty-eight years later, amounted to \$20,000,000, and Stephen Girard of Philadelphia, who accumulated \$9,000,000 during his lifetime, was already very rich. But as neither of these used his means in ways that gave employment, to any considerable extent, to American labor, their great wealth seems to have caused no unusual alarm, or adverse comment. Next after Astor and Girard, George Washington was one of the rich men in the country, if not the richest, and his wealth consisted of lands and of slaves, as did that of many other rich men of the time.

There was almost no money in circulation. When Louisiana was purchased it was claimed by Mr. Jefferson's opponents that all the money in the sixteen States would not pay the \$15,000,000 his agents had agreed to pay for it. This was not true, though not so far from the truth as might seem probable. Such statistical information as we have of that period shows that the total volume of money in circulation in the United States in the year 1800, was \$26,500,000, or about \$5 per capita. Such gold and silver money as was seen was coined by as many different nations as we had trade relations with. There were Spanish doubloons, English shillings and pounds, French francs and various other coins. All these, except our own coins, passed from hand to hand at constantly varying values, causing no end of trouble. When bank currency came into general use a few years later, it too varied in value in proportion to the distance the notes were carried from the point of issue, and very frequently they became worthless.

When the means of making progress were so few; the need for more territory so slight, and the public information so imperfect; when the newly discovered country seemed so remote, and the means of reaching it so tedious and inadequate;

when our government was still in the experimental stage, and though acknowledged not yet respected by foreign powers, and many of its own people were distrustful of its permanence; while our eastern coast was still in a large part unsurveyed, uncharted and wholly undefended, it is not very surprising that so little interest was felt in a newly discovered province that lay so far away, that was wholly unexplored, and its value, both present and prospective, quite unknown. It is far more surprising that forty years later so many were neglectful of it, cared little to know about it, and were quite indifferent whether it was retained, or abandoned to the power which would have used it in every way to our detriment. And it is more surprising still in this age of steam and electricity, of books and newspapers, and of almost unlimited means for the exchange of reliable information; when capital is abundant, and actively seeking the surest means of profitable employment; when the poorest laborer may now cross the continent from ocean to ocean as quickly, almost as cheaply, and far more comfortably than John Jacob Astor could have gone from New York to Buffalo, or Stephen Girard from Philadelphia to Boston, or George Washington from Mount Vernon to New York, a hundred years ago, that so many people living east of the Mississippi should still regard the valley of the Columbia as a region so remote as to be beyond the scope of their attention.

With the acquisition of Louisiana in 1803 our title to Oregon was slightly strengthened. The boundary of the newly purchased empire was not well defined by the treaty of cession,—indeed the northern and western boundaries were not defined at all. France transferred it, as it had received it from Spain, practically by quit claim, leaving us to defend,

as all who accept such evidence of title must, against all adverse claimants. Oregon was no part of Louisiana, but by the law universally admitted by all civilized peoples, all governments have a first claim to sovereignty over unexplored lands, contiguous to their own, which are inhabited by savages and are not owned or claimed by any other nation. This claim of title by continuous possession was not a very strong one. It could have been disputed by Spain, which still owned California, Nevada and Utah on the south, by Russia, which had discovered and established small colonies in Alaska, as well as by Great Britain. But we were soon to establish a stronger and much better claim.

Mr. Jefferson has been given credit for the purchase of Louisiana that does not rightfully belong to him. He was certainly more surprised than pleased when he learned that the purchase had been made. He had sought only to secure the free navigation of the Mississippi by acquiring the island of New Orleans at its mouth, for which he had been authorized to pay \$2,000,000. Mr. Livingston, our minister to France, was authorized to negotiate only for that island, and when news was received that he had been offered all of Louisiana, and had entered into a treaty with Napoleon Bonaparte, then the head of affairs in France, for the purchase of it for \$15,000,000, Mr. Jefferson was greatly alarmed, fearing that the whole transaction was unconstitutional, as it certainly was unauthorized.

However, when the treaty was accepted by Congress, and provision made for the payment of the purchase price, Mr. Jefferson promptly took measures which entitle him to all the praise he then or has since received. He knew and appreciated the value of what had been acquired, and of what we previously possessed, better than any other statesman

of his time. By dispatching Lewis and Clark, as he did in the following year, to explore the newly acquired country and our possessions lying beyond it, to the Pacific Ocean, he added a new element of strength to our title. Lewis and Clark left St. Louis in 1804, reached the summit of the Rocky Mountains in September of the following year, and unquestionably entered the valley of the Columbia in its upper part, before any other explorers had done so. They traced the course of the great river through its principal branch from its source to its mouth, spent the succeeding winter on the coast, and returned again through the country to the valley of the Mississippi, reaching St. Louis in September 1806, and thus strengthened our title by a brilliant act of exploration.

In 1810 the first attempts at settlement were made in the valley of the Columbia. A trading post was established on the upper waters of the Snake River by an agent of the Missouri Fur Company, and another at Oak Point on the Columbia, by Captain Winship, Commander of the ship *Albatross*, from Boston, but both were soon abandoned. A more substantial attempt to form a permanent settlement was, however, in preparation. John Jacob Astor of New York, then largely interested in the fur trade, and actively engaged in competition with the Hudson's Bay Company and the Northwest Fur Company, in Canada and along the shores of the Great Lakes, had conceived the idea of taking possession of the great fur-bearing region on the Pacific Coast, which Gray had discovered and Lewis and Clark explored, and in which the title of our government was not yet actively disputed. He accordingly organized the Pacific Fur Company and sent out a strong expedition by land, to follow the route taken by Lewis and Clark across the continent to the

mouth of the Columbia, where it was to be met by ships sent around Cape Horn with supplies for the establishment and goods for its trade with the natives. This post was successfully established at the mouth of the Columbia in 1811, and named Astoria. During the succeeding two years subposts were established at Fort Okanogan on the upper branch of the Columbia, at Fort Spokane on the Spokane River, and on the upper waters of the Willamette River. Although the enterprise met with some reverses, the trade was successfully established and continued until 1813 when, during the war with England, it was sold to the Northwest Fur Company by the agent in charge, who pretended to believe the post in danger of capture by the British war ships. There was reason to suspect, and Mr. Astor long believed, that this act was a deliberate betrayal of his interests, because his agent went over to and became a partner in the company to which he had sold the establishment. The place was, however, menaced by the British. Shortly after the sale and transfer, the war ship *Raccoon* arrived in the Columbia, and its captain was greatly disappointed to find that the post he had come so far to capture, and of which he had hoped to make a rich prize, was already in the possession of his own countrymen. He however substituted the British flag for that of the United States at the post, and formally claimed possession of the country. This act, worthy of a Falstaff as it was, caused the British government great embarrassment when it came to put the treaty of 1814 into effect, and enabled Mr. Monroe's administration to demand and secure the restoration of the Columbia River country to the United States.

By the treaty of Ghent in 1814, at the close of the war of 1812, it was agreed that "all the territory, places, and

possessions whatever, taken by either party during the war," should be restored without delay, and although the settlement at the mouth of the Columbia was not specifically mentioned, it was regarded by both nations as one of the places to be restored. It was accordingly restored to an agent of the United States sent there for the purpose of formally receiving it. By this act of restoration, Great Britain in fact admitted our right to exclusive occupation, if not to sovereignty over the country which was ours by right of discovery, as continuous or contiguous territory, by exploration and by actual settlement. It restored no property to the Pacific Fur Company, which had created it. What it did restore, if it restored anything, was the sovereignty of the United States over the territory, and the property in it which American citizens had created, and which was then owned by subjects of Great Britain.

This sovereignty it immediately began to undermine, and so far as possible destroy. It had yielded much by the treaties of Paris and Ghent that it was loath to part with, and it lost no opportunity to reduce the concessions made to a minimum, and to enlarge its own pretensions whenever possible. British diplomacy was more experienced and more subtle than ours, and if our representatives were not outmaneuvered or overreached in the negotiation of new treaties, they were sometimes outwitted by a clever use of terms in reducing the result of their negotiations to writing. When in 1818 it became desirable to fix the undetermined boundary between the British possessions on the north, and the Louisiana purchase, the forty-ninth parallel was fixed upon without great difficulty, as the dividing line from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains, but beyond that point the British negotiators were not willing to extend

it. It was offered, on our side, to extend it to the coast and so settle the whole matter at once and forever, but this Great Britain would not accept. As a counter proposition it was suggested that the forty-ninth parallel might be extended across the mountains to the headwaters of the Columbia, and thence down the middle of that stream to its mouth, but this our negotiators very properly refused. It was evident that no agreement could be reached that would be mutually satisfactory, so far as this part of the boundary was concerned, and it was accordingly arranged that matters should remain as they were for a period of ten years, and that meantime all territories and waters claimed by either power, west of the Rocky Mountains, should be "free and open to the vessels, citizens and subjects of both countries, provided, however, that no claim of either or of any other nation, to any part of this territory, should be prejudiced by this arrangement."

By this treaty, harmless and inoffensive as it perhaps seemed at that time, a vast extent of territory, actually belonging to the United States, and over which its sovereignty should have been asserted with full confidence, was opened to the subjects of Great Britain as freely as to the citizens of our own country. The advantage thus offered was immediately seized upon. The agents of the Northwest Fur Company still retained the business which they had acquired from Mr. Astor's Pacific Fur Company. Joined by, and subsequently consolidated with the Hudson's Bay Company, they steadily strengthened their power and authority in the whole region west of the mountains until they were able to shut out all competition. Their chief factors ruled in it with absolute authority for a period of nearly thirty years. Astoria continued to be known as Fort George, the name

given it after the sale by Mr. Astor's agent, and the flag so ceremoniously restored to it in 1818 by the transfer of "possession," no longer waved over it, nor was it seen elsewhere in the whole region. In its place was the ensign of the Hudson's Bay Company, all of whose interests demanded that Oregon should be made and kept a British dependency.

Meantime, in February 1819, and within a few months after the treaty of 1818, commonly known as the joint occupation treaty, had been signed, Spain ceded to the United States, by the Florida treaty, all its claims to sovereignty over the country lying north of the forty-second parallel, the northern boundary of California. These claims were considerable, and were based upon the discoveries of all the Spanish explorers who had visited this part of the coast. Among these some had made landings north of latitude 42° and south of the strait of Juan de Fuca. Heceta had almost entered the mouth of the Columbia, and had given names to the capes at its north and south entrances, while Quimper and Valdez had penetrated the Strait to its eastern extremity and given names to several islands and various channels which still remain as evidence of their enterprise.

Notwithstanding this additional claim of the United States to the Oregon territory the agreement made in 1818 was, in 1828, extended for another period of ten years, during which time the fur traders of the Hudson's Bay Company multiplied and steadily strengthened their trading posts, and in a feeble way began to make actual settlements, without protest from our government, and but few attempts were made by American citizens to contest the claim of actual settlement which their enterprise was steadily building up in the interest of Great Britain.

In the progress of time therefore the British claim to the country was made to appear almost as good as our own. This claim rested on a series of explorations extending from the time of Sir Francis Drake, who had called the country New Albion, in 1579, to Vancouver, including those of Meares and Berkeley, of Portlock and Dixon, of Colnett and Hudson, and still others, some of whom had sailed under the flag of England, and some under that of Portugal. Few of these had seen any part of the coast south of the forty-ninth parallel, and none of them down to Vancouver's time could confidently claim to have set foot on it. Cook had seen Cape Flattery in 1778 and some part of the coast as far south as the forty-seventh parallel. Several English traders visited Nootka between Cook's time and 1788, but few of them saw any land much south of it. Berkeley claimed to have rediscovered the Strait of Fuca in 1787, and Meares saw it in 1788. The latter also visited the mouth of the Columbia, but like Heceta did not find the river, although he had hoped to do so, and on account of his failure named the north cape at its mouth Cape Disappointment.

The explorations made by Vancouver along the whole coast of Oregon, and in the waters of Puget Sound, were the most complete that had been made up to that time. He surveyed and charted the whole strait, and contiguous waters north and south, naming the islands, bays, and inlets which the Spaniards had not named, the mountain peaks, and most of the prominent landmarks along the coast, from the Queen Charlotte Islands to the Bay of San Francisco. He did not find the mouth of the Columbia until some time after Gray had discovered it, and for a long time was convinced, as his journal shows, that no such river existed. He was, however, finally convinced, and was frank enough to

admit, that Gray was the discoverer of the river, and of the harbor still further north along the coast which now bears his name.

Great Britain also held a claim to the country by right of exploration, thoroughly genuine, so far as it pertained to the country explored. In 1793 Alexander Mackenzie crossed the country overland from the outposts of the Hudson's Bay Company in British Columbia, and after exploring the great river, to which his name has been given, to its mouth in the Arctic Ocean, returned southward to the upper waters of Peace River and thence, traveling westward, crossed the Rocky Mountains, hoping to find one of the most northerly branches of the Columbia and follow it to its mouth. He never reached the Columbia, but after a vain attempt to float down the Fraser, crossed the country to the ocean, arriving in September 1793, being the first white man who ever crossed the continent. Had he found the Columbia, as he hoped to do, and followed it to its mouth, the British claim to Oregon would have been very greatly strengthened, and the explorations of Lewis and Clark might have availed nothing for the United States.

In 1806 Simon Fraser, a hardy fur trader of the Northwest Fur Company, ascended Peace River following the trail of Mackenzie, and established a fort on Fraser's Lake. This, as Mr. Greenhow says, was the first settlement, or post of any kind, made by the British west of the Rocky Mountains. Another post was established at the junction of Stuart River with the Fraser in the following year, and in 1808 Fraser explored the river to its mouth. Gradually during succeeding years, other trading posts and small settlements were established in the region lying north of the Fraser, now beginning to be known as New Caledonia, sufficient in number

to form the basis for a claim to the country by right of settlement.

✓ The British now laid claim to the whole region west of the mountains, as the Americans did, by virtue of discovery, although it was admitted that Gray was the undoubted discoverer of the Columbia River, and also by exploration and settlement, although neither Mackenzie nor Fraser had reached any part of the Columbia Valley, nor had they or the settlers who followed them, penetrated as far south as the forty-ninth parallel.

As will appear when we come to examine the evidence relied upon to support these conflicting claims more in detail, our title to the valley of the Columbia, and all the territory south of the forty-ninth parallel was much the stronger. That British subjects were the first to explore and make settlements in the region north of that line none will deny. But by every consideration of right, Vancouver Island should have been ours. The Spaniards whose title we acquired in 1819, unquestionably discovered it. Even if Michael Lok's account of de Fuca's voyage be rejected, the Spanish claim of discovery will still hold good. Several of their later navigators saw its western coast before ships from any other civilized nation had visited it, and Perez had entered and named its principal harbor. Kendrick, in the *Washington*, had been first to sail through the strait which separated it from the mainland, and so discover its insular character.

Such were the claims of the two governments to Oregon, and such they practically remained until Hall J. Kelly, Nathaniel Weyth, Capt. Bonneville, and the early American missionaries and settlers began to invade the territory and make their homes there. Occasionally it attracted some notice in Washington. President Monroe, in his last annual

message to Congress, suggested the propriety of establishing a military post at the mouth of the Columbia, to which our ships might resort in time of war, and to facilitate our trade with the Indians, and recommended a suitable appropriation for that purpose. President John Quincy Adams renewed the recommendation to the succeeding Congress, and advised in addition that a ship be sent out to further explore the whole northwest coast. President Jackson in 1835, sent out a special agent to get such information as could be had about the Indians and white people then living on or near the Columbia between its headwaters and its mouth, and this agent, Mr. Slacum, subsequently made a report of his observations during his journey that attracted wide attention at the time.

But while presidents recommended and special agents reported, Congress did nothing. When the convention of 1818 was under consideration in the Senate, the question of our title was fully considered, and seemingly regarded as satisfactory, yet the stipulations by which all Oregon was left as free and open to the ships and subjects of Great Britain as to ourselves, were approved. When the agreement was renewed for another period of ten years in 1828, the whole case was reviewed again, and again the country was left open to Great Britain, although our title to it was regarded as perfect and unquestionable by every member of Congress and of the national administration, and our people were anxious to assert and defend it. Meantime the agents and employees of the Hudson's Bay Company were the only people on either side who availed themselves of this free and open condition.

So matters continued until 1834 when Jason Lee came to Oregon, and 1836 when Marcus Whitman came to

Washington, and other missionaries and settlers followed them in ever increasing numbers. Public interest grew, and grew rapidly. In 1837 societies began to be formed to encourage emigration, and these societies were particularly numerous and active in those States which had themselves been most recently settled. Petitions from the people, and resolutions by the legislatures of States were sent to Congress urging the general government either to settle the question of sovereignty by negotiation, or take immediate civil and military possession of the whole country. The suggestion of Senator Tappan of Ohio,—frequently attributed to Benton, although it was only repeated and approved by him,—that thirty thousand settlers with their thirty thousand rifles would effectually settle all claims to the country in our favor, rang through the country from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, and awakened a spirit of conquest that soon filled the lonely trails leading across the plains and through the mountains with long trains of ardent crusaders. Oregon was saved, not by the sagacity of our statesmen, but by the energy and spirit, the courage and the enterprise of its early settlers.

CHAPTER II.

THE SPANISH DISCOVERERS.

IT IS a curious fact, and as interesting as curious, that all the discoveries on the northwest coast of America, from the time of Magellan to that of Vancouver, were made, as the discovery of America itself was made, by navigators who were searching for something that did not exist.

Columbus expected that by sailing west from Europe he would ultimately reach India, but he hoped first to reach the island of Cipango, which he had been assured by eminent authority, was a marvelously rich part of the world, and would be found some distance off the east coast of Asia. Long before he set out on his voyage of discovery, and as the eminent historian John Fiske thinks, about the year 1474, he had opened a correspondence with Toscanelli, the great Florentine astronomer and cosmographer of his time, who had sent him a map, or chart, which he said was drawn with his own hand, and with it a copy of a letter explaining it, which he had recently sent to the King of Portugal.

"This map," its maker said, "shows among other things the islands from which you must begin to shape your course steadily westward, and the places at which you are bound to arrive, and how far from the pole or from the equator you ought to keep away, and through how much space, or through how many miles you are to arrive at places most fertile in all sorts of spices and gems." He was also to find cities of very great wealth, and, more than all, "the very splendid island of Cipango. . . . For that island abounds in gold, pearls, and precious stones, and they cover the temples and palaces with solid gold."

Toscanelli's map showed that this "very splendid island" was farther south than Japan, and farther north than Luzon, the largest island in the northern part of the Philippine group.

The tropic of Cancer was shown as passing through its northern end. This tropical line runs three or four degrees north of Luzon, and about ten degrees south of Nippon, the principal island of the Japanese group. It was in nearly the same latitude as the Canaries, and Columbus hoped to reach it by sailing due west from that group, which he undertook to do, but finally changed his course a little to the southward and so arrived at Guanahani. Later when he landed on the great island of Cuba he had no doubt that he had found Cipango at last. After making three other voyages, on the last of which he skirted the coast of the American continent for some distance, searching in vain for a channel that would admit him into the Indian Ocean, he died without suspecting that he had discovered a new continent, or done more than find a hitherto unknown part of India.

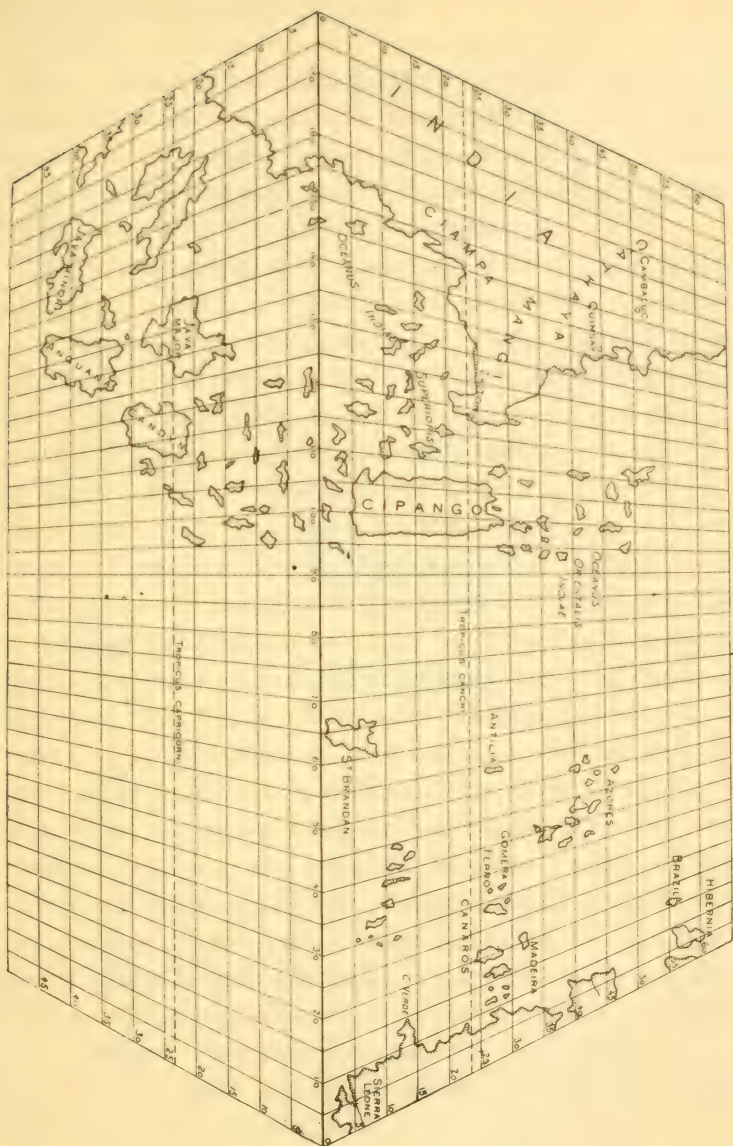
Vespucius, the Cabots, and other explorers who immediately followed Columbus, soon determined that the land which he had discovered extended to a great distance both north and south of the equator. That it was not India was apparent from this fact, and because the rich cities which Marco Polo and other travelers had described, some of which Toscanelli had located with more or less pretended accuracy on his map, could not be found in it. When Balboa crossed the Isthmus of Panama in 1513, and from the top of its mountain range first beheld the waters of the Pacific Ocean, it began to be apparent that the newly discovered land was a vast continent, lying between Europe and the Indies, and the efforts of explorers generally were directed toward finding a passage through it. Magellan found the strait at its southern extremity in October 1520, but the search for a northern passage, which did not exist, continued from the time of Cortez to that of Sir John Franklin.

FOUCAULT'S MAP.

Remains of the map sent by Foucault to the
canal, the great Florentine astronomer, in 1794, a copy sent also to
Alfonso X of Castile in 1294, a copy sent also to
the great Columbus before he sailed on his first voyage.

From "The Discovery of America," by John H. P. H.
Bouquet, Miller & Company, Boston, Mass.





Such a passage was early declared to exist, and it was long talked of, written about and searched for as the Strait of Anian. A principal object of all, or nearly all, the voyages of discovery along our western coast, from the isthmus to Alaska, was to find this mythical waterway.

The first mention of it apparently is in the report of the voyages of Gaspar Cortereal, who sailed from the Azores in 1500, and was absent nearly a whole year. Ramusio, writing of this expedition, says that Cortereal and those with him, "prosecuted their voyage in those seas, and that they arrived at a region of extreme cold; and in the latitude of 60 degrees north, they discovered a river filled with ice, to which they gave the name of Rio Nevada—that is Snow River. They had not courage to proceed further." This is so nearly the latitude of the opening of Hudson's Strait as to suggest that they may really have been in its neighborhood. Cortereal sailed again on May 15, 1504, from Lisbon, with two vessels, which after reaching Greenland were separated by bad weather, and Cortereal and his ship were lost. After waiting a long time in the hope of finding the ship, or of obtaining some account of it, the other vessel returned to Lisbon and reported the loss. In the published account of the time of these voyages, Cortereal is accredited with having discovered the supposed strait and given it its name. Why he called it Anian is not now clearly explained. Some accounts say that the name was chosen in honor of two brothers who accompanied the expedition, but this other writers deny. Some authorities say that the northern part of America was named Ania at that time, and that name appears upon some of the earlier charts. It also appears on other charts as the name of a part of northern Asia. Purchas speaks of Anian as an island

off the coast of China. Hakluyt gives this account of the Strait:

“An excellent learned man of Portingale, of singular grauity, authorite and experience, tole me, very lately, that one Annus Cortereal, captayne of the Yle Tercera, about the yeere 1574, which is not above eight yeers past, sent a shippe to discouer the northwest passage of America in fiftie-eight degrees of latitude, founde a great entrance exceeding deepe and broade, without impediment of ice, into which they passed about twenty leagues, and found it alwaies to treande towarde the south, the land lying lowe and plaine on eyther side; and they persuaded themselves verely that there was a way open into the South Sea.”

Other writers and navigators, who pretended more or less confidently to have visited the strait and explored it, or to have met those who had done so, published accounts of it from time to time which kept the myth more or less continually in the public mind. In one of these stories, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, the English sailor, and Sir Henry Sydney, were said to have been told by one Salvitierra, a Spanish gentleman of responsibility,—who came by chance into Ireland from the West Indies in 1568,—that Urdanata had come from the South Sea to Germany through the north passage, and showed him “a sea card, made by his own experience and travel in that voyage, wherein was plainly set down and described the northwest passage.” In some of Urdanata’s papers the statement is found that some Frenchmen were reported to have sailed around North America, and gone through to the Pacific Ocean in latitude 50°, but there is no mention in these papers that he had ever made or attempted such a voyage. He, however, recommended that the passage be looked for, and if found that it be fortified by the Spanish.

off the coast of California. He gives this account of the
 voyage: "We sailed from the harbor of San Francisco, California, on the 1st of August, 1845, and sailed for the north."

"An excellent, learned, man of Turin, of singular
 genius, without and without, who, very lately, that
 int. Arctic Commission, composed of the Yb. Tercera, about
 the year 1844, which is one of the eight years past, sent a
 ship to discover the northern passage of America in
 nine-eight degrees of latitude. Finding a great obstacle to
 sailing ships and boats, without impediment of ice, into
 which they passed some years before, and found it always
 as though it were the north, the land lying here and plaine
 as other sides, and they perceived themselves very that
 there was a way from the South Sea."

"Other writers are everywhere who perceived there is a
 passage from the north to the south, and suffered it, or to
 have not been reached from it, published accounts of it from
 one to the other, and the north passage is now occasionally
 in the public mind. — On one of these occasions, the Geography
 Gilbert, the English writer, and Sir John Ross, were said
 to have been told by some Siberian a reliable gentleman of
 responsibility, — who came by the ship from the
 West Indies in 1845, — that the passage had been found from the South
 Sea to Germany through the north passage, and showed him
 "a map made by his own expedition, and traced in that
 voyage, wherein was plainly to be seen and described the
 northern passage." In some of Ullmann's papers the
 statement is found that some Prussians were reported to
 have sailed around North America and gone through to the
 Pacific Ocean in latitude 60°, but there is no mention in these
 papers that he had ever made an attempt such a voyage.
 He, however, recommended that the passage be looked for,
 and it found that it was found by the Spanish





Somewhat later, an old pilot named Laderillo of Colima, Mexico, is mentioned, who declared that in his travels he had sailed from the Atlantic through a passage near Newfoundland into the Pacific. Other old pilots, noting the attention which Laderillo was drawing to himself by his claim, put forth similar ones, all of which of course were false.

In 1609 another and more detailed account was published by a Portuguese named Maldonado, who was more or less prominent at that time as an authority on geography, a writer of history, and also as an inventor, as he claimed to have invented or discovered a magnetic needle without variation. His story was accepted quite generally as true, and as late as 1790 it was revived, and its truthfulness defended by a French geographer named Buache.

Maldonado's story is entitled "A Relation of the Discovery of the Straits of Anian, made by me, Captain Lorenzo Ferrer de Maldonado, in the Year 1588; in which is described the course of Navigation, the Situation of the Place, and the Manner of Fortifying it." His story was told with so many details, especially of distances, and the location of the strait was so particularly described, as to give the recital an air of great reliability. Those who should start from Spain or Portugal, say from the city of Lisbon, should sail northwest for a distance of 450 leagues, when they would reach the latitude of 60 degrees, where the island Friesland would be seen. They were then to go west on the 60th parallel for 180 leagues, to Labrador, where Davis Strait begins. Here two openings in the land would be found, one of which runs northeast and the other northwest. The former led to Greenland and the latter to the Strait of Anian, which would be discovered in latitude 60 degrees, and at a distance of

1710 leagues from Spain. When found it would have Asia on one side and America on the other.

Maldonado claimed not only to have passed through this strait, but to have sailed along the coast beyond it more than one hundred leagues, and to have seen what he supposed to be the coast of Tartary or Cathay. He did not pretend to have made any stop there, but circled back to the opening of the strait. During this voyage he was quite sure, as he claimed, that he had passed through the South Sea "where are situated Japan, China, the Moluccas, New Guinea, and the land discovered by Captain Quiros, with all the coast of New Spain and Peru."

Still another story that attracted attention was that of the pretended voyage of Admiral Pedro Bartolme de Fonte, who sailed from Callao in April 1640 with four vessels, under orders from the viceroy of Peru, for the North Pacific, to intercept vessels that were suspected of visiting the South Sea from Boston, or of searching for a northwest passage. He sailed northward and passed through a tortuous channel for 260 leagues, among islands to which he gave the name of the Archipelago of St. Lazarus, and finally at latitude 53 degrees north, found a great stream, which he named the River of the Kings. He dispatched one of his lieutenants to examine the coast farther north, and he himself ascended the river until he came to a beautiful lake which he called Lake Belle. In this lake were many islands, and their inhabitants were numerous, kind and hospitable. On its south shore was a large town called Conasset, a name never before or since mentioned. Leaving his ships in the lake, he proceeded down another river called Parmentier, flowing from Lake Belle, into another lake which he honored with his own name, out of which flowed a stream which gradually

MALDONADO'S STRAIT OF ANIAN.

A purely fanciful chart, drawn about 1597, showing the strait, with the points on its shores which Maldonado proposed to fortify.



1492, brought from Spain. When found it would have Asia on the left and America on the other.

Martin made claim almost only on those passed through this strait, but to have sailed along the coast he did it more than one hundred leagues, and to have seen what he supposed to be the coast of Turkey or India. He did not pretend to come more and stop there, but sailed back to the opening of the strait. During this voyage he was quite sure, as he claimed, that he had passed through the South Sea "where are situated Japan, China, the Moluccas, New Guinea, and the land discovered by Captain Quins, with all the coast of New Spain and Peru."

Still another story that attracted attention was that of the extended voyage of Admiral Pedro Barbosa de Figue, who sailed from Callao in April 1625 with four vessels, under orders from the viceroy of Peru, for the South Pacific, to survey vessels that were supposed of visiting the South Sea from Boston, or of searching for a northern passage. He sailed northward and passed through a narrow channel between Japan, among islands to which he gave the name of the Archipelago of St. Lazarus, and finally at latitude 33 degrees north, found a great stream, which he named the River of the Kings. He dispatched one of his lieutenants to continue the coast farther north, and he himself ascended the river until he came to a beautiful lake which he called Lake Bello. In this lake were many islands, and their inhabitants were numerous, kind and hospitable. On its north shore was a large town called Emasson, a name never before or since mentioned. Leaving his ships in the lake, he proceeded down another river called Parmeria, dosing under Lake Bello, into another lake which he named with his own name, but all which flowed a stream which gradually



widened into a passage which he named the Strait of Ronquailo, in honor of one of his captains. This strait connected the lake with the Atlantic, or with some gulf opening into the Atlantic. This story was so circumstantial in all its details, and gave the latitude of all the lakes, straits and rivers, their length and direction with such particularity, as to greatly recommend it to the credulity of that age, and it stimulated the hope of other navigators to find and further explore this fabled northwest passage.

These myths have a certain interest for present and future times. They show how little the world knew, for many years after Columbus was in his grave, about the vast continent which he had discovered, how easily false information was received in those times, and how readily the truth was doubted, and the historian of the future, like those in the past, will find entertainment, if not profit, in speculating as to how far they helped, and how far they hindered the work of exploring our continent.

While these myth makers were busy in the seclusion of their libraries, in making adventurous voyages into distant and dangerous seas, and discovering things that did not exist, and indeed long before some of them had been born, or begun their diverting undertakings, a man of real energy was at work on the western coast of the new world, extending the explorations which Balboa had begun only a few years earlier. Having completed the conquest of Mexico, and substituted the authority of Spain for that of the Montezumas, Hernando Cortez immediately set to work to explore the new country of which so little was yet known, and one of his exploring parties first assigned to this duty soon reached the Pacific in the friendly state of Muchacan. Upon its return with news of what had been discovered, Cortez immediately

wrote the emperor. "Most of all," said he, "do I exult in the tidings brought me of the Great Ocean, for in it, as cosmographers and those learned men who know about the Indies inform us, are scattered the rich isles, teeming with gold, and spices, and precious stones." With his usual energy he immediately began to prepare to seek out these rich countries, and if possible to find the Strait of Anian, which was already beginning to be talked about. The keels of four small ships were laid at Zacatula, which were to be sent out to explore the western coast, examine the country and search for the strait, but they were all burned just before reaching completion. A fleet of five ships was also built on the eastern coast, which was to cruise northward toward Florida with a similar object. "Your Majesty may be assured," he wrote to the emperor, "that, as I know how much you have at heart the discovery of this great secret of a strait, I shall postpone all interests and projects of my own, some of them of the highest moment, for the fulfilment of this great object." In the hope of finding another strait nearer at hand he sent another expedition southward to Honduras, commanded by Cristoval de Olid, which, after planting a colony on the coast, was to cruise southward in search of a strait, and also to examine the country with care, for Cortez had heard that it was full of gold, so full that "the fishermen used weights of gold for their nets," and reports of this kind always had great attraction for him.

By this time Cortez had achieved so much, and the fame of his success had become so great, as to arouse the envy and hatred of those who had done nothing. In those days, as in the present, those who accomplished much were easily feared and distrusted by those who accomplished less, especially if they accomplish very little. Charles was easily

persuaded that, if not curbed and controlled, the power of the great captain might soon become dangerous to his own. The Royal Audiencia, a sort of board of commissioners, to have charge of the civil government in Mexico, was contrived, and among those who were vested with this new authority, or given places of power and influence by it, were some of Cortez's most malignant enemies. He still remained in the country with the authority of captain general, but henceforward all his undertakings were more or less embarrassed, and many of them brought to ruin. But his exploring enterprises were not discontinued. Several of these were set on foot, but none were particularly successful. Had he been left unembarrassed to prosecute them with his accustomed enterprise, as much might have been known of the whole western coast of the continent at the time of his death in 1547 as was known of its eastern side a hundred years later. What effect the publication of such information, if made at that time, might have had on the settlement and developing of both coasts, who shall say?

Between 1528 and 1532 Cortez sent out several small exploring expeditions. One of them left Zacatula in July 1528 and followed the coast northward about three hundred miles, finding a fertile country, inhabited by a very savage people. In 1532 another was fitted out at Tehuantepec. It consisted of two vessels, and was commanded by Diego Hurtado de Mendoza. It followed the coast as far north as latitude 27° , where a mutiny occurred and one of the ships was sent back. The other was subsequently stranded and deserted by her crew. Mendoza was murdered by the natives and his vessel siezed and plundered by Guzman, one of the petty governors among whom the authority of Cortez had been divided. Two ships sent out in 1533, under command

of Hernando Grijalva and Diego Becerra, reached the lower part of the peninsula of lower California, but failed of any other success on account of mutiny among their crews, and finally fell into the hands of Guzman.

Aroused by these failures, and enraged by the outrageous conduct of Guzman, Cortez now resolved upon an enterprise in which he should first punish his enemy, and then proceed upon a new expedition of discovery which he would himself command. He accordingly fitted out a small squadron at his own expense, in the harbor of Tehuantepec, which he placed under the command of another, and then with a small land force marched to Chiametla, the scene of Guzman's spoliations, where he easily recovered the ships he had lost, but no part of their cargoes. Being joined here by his ships from Tehuantepec, he set sail for the peninsula,—which he still supposed to be an island,—that his earlier expeditions had discovered. He took with him four hundred Spaniards and three hundred negro slaves, intending to plant a colony in the new land, which he confidently hoped would prove a second and richer Mexico.

He was absent on this fruitless expedition many months. A long time was spent in an examination of the barren region at the southern extremity of the peninsula, in the hope of finding some rich city or country to despoil, or some region sufficiently fertile to encourage its colonization, but without result. Finally driven to the last extremity by famine, he attempted to recross the gulf, but encountered terrible tempests by which his ships were thrown upon the rocks and saved only by the most heroic exertions from total wreck. Without a pilot or other capable officer to manage his vessels for him, and after encountering hardships and dangers as terrible as any he had ever met with hitherto, he succeeded



FERDINANDO CORTES

CAVATO DA VN ORIGINALE FATTO IN AZI
CHEI SI PORTASSI ALLA CONQVISTA DEL MESSICO.

Sculpsit Iacobus Iohannes de Wit

in making his way back to the peninsula, where his situation was even more desperate than before. How he managed finally to escape is not known. Without doubt, however, the mainland he found to be a continent, and not an island. California had been represented by the natives as a land of representations of things which could not be seen, and the new dignity, as an island, was a mistake. It was a mistake, and without other recommendation, but he proved himself a man of moderation, and for a considerable time at least he interposed no obstacle to the plans for exploration which Cortez had in view. A new expedition, composed of three new vessels, was got ready as soon as possible, and placed under the command of Francisco de Ulloa. It sailed in July 1539, and accomplished more than all the former enterprises had effected. The whole Gulf of California was explored, to the mouth of the Colorado River, and what had hitherto been supposed to be an island, was proved to be only the long rocky peninsula which we now know as Lower California. Its eastern shore was observed with some care, after which the expedition rounded Cape San Lucas, its southern extremity, and skirted its western side as far north as the island of Cedras, or Cerros, north of the 28th parallel. From this point Ulloa sent one of his ships home, and with the other held on his course northward, and never returned or was again heard from.

Thus early, and by the enterprise of Cortez alone, it was determined that California was not an island separated from the mainland by a wide channel, though it was so long so represented for a long time thereafter by cosmographers and map makers in various countries. Both shores of the Gulf of California, or Gulf of Cortez, as it was sometimes called, were examined, and with the aid of the feeble expedition

HERNANDO CORTEZ.

Born in Medellin, Spain, in 1485. Sent with Velasquez to subdue and colonize Cuba in 1511. In the summer of 1519 he landed on the east coast of Mexico, with a little more than 400 Spanish soldiers and sailors, burned his ships, and marched on the city of Mexico, which he captured, and within three years had subdued the country, and penetrated to the Pacific, after which he set on foot several expeditions to explore the coast.

HERNANDO CORTEZ

CONDE DE VILLAVIEJA. DUC DE ALBA
MARQUESE DE ALCANTARA. VISCOUNT OF LINCOLN.

in making his way back to the peninsula, where his situation was even more desperate than before. How he managed finally to escape, is not now known, but on his return to the mainland he found that the government of the Royal Audien-cia had been superseded by that of a viceroy. Like all representatives of imperial or royal power in that day, the new dignitary, Don Antonio de Mendoza, was of noble birth, and without other recommendation, but he proved to be a man of moderation, and for a considerable time at least he interposed no obstacle to the plans for exploration which Cortez had in view. A new expedition, composed of three new vessels, was got ready as soon as possible, and placed under the command of Francisco de Ulloa. It sailed in July 1539, and accomplished more than all the former enterprises had effected. The whole Gulf of California was explored, to the mouth of the Colorado River, and what had heretofore been supposed to be an island, was proved to be only the long rocky peninsula which we now know as lower California. Its eastern shore was observed with some care, after which the expedition rounded Cape San Lucas, its southern extremity, and skirted its western side as far north as the island of Cedros, or Cerros, north of the 28th parallel. From this point Ulloa sent one of his ships home, and with the other held on his course northward, and never returned or was again heard from.

Thus early, and by the enterprise of Cortez alone, it was determined that California was not an island separated from the mainland by a wide channel, though it was at times so represented for a long time thereafter by cosmographers and map makers in various countries. Both shores of the Gulf of California, or Gulf of Cortez, as it was sometimes called, were examined, and with the aid of the feeble expeditions

sent out by Balboa, the shore of the continent had now been explored as far south as Panama. More even than this the conqueror had done, though it had not contributed materially to the advancement of discovery northward, for ships had been contributed to expeditions sent to the Philippines, the Moluccas, and to the aid of Pizzaro in his enterprises in Peru.

Plans for a new expedition to be composed of five ships, and commanded by Don Luis, a natural son of Cortez, were set on foot, as soon as it began to appear that Ulloa would not return, but they were opposed by Mendoza, who now began to be jealous of the name and fame of Cortez, and to claim for himself all right of exploration and discovery. The ships were never built, or if built, were used for other purposes. Cortez returned to Spain and remained there, and Mendoza was easily diverted from all projects by sea, and encouraged to support a land expedition, that was far from being barren of results.

From the day of his arrival in Mexico, Mendoza had listened to reports from time to time, of wonderfully rich countries and cities to be found to the northward. Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca, who had been second in command of the ill-fated expedition led by Narvaez to Florida in 1528, and who after much toil and many sufferings had been cast ashore somewhere on the border of Texas, and taken prisoner by the Indians, with whom he had remained for more than six years, finally found his way into Mexico, now called New Spain, and told wonderful stories of the people and cities he had seen in his long wanderings. Mendoza, who was impatient to do something on his own account, in the way of exploration, made haste to prepare an expedition to send northward into the country which Cabeza claimed to have visited, but he was persuaded by a priest, who had become

weary of the bloodshed caused by the enterprises of his own countrymen, to send out two priests or friars who could examine the country quietly, learn all that was to be found out about it, and return without antagonizing or alarming the natives. Two friars were accordingly sent out and soon returned with glowing accounts of rich cities which they claimed to have seen, and richer mines of which they claimed to have heard, far to the northward. One city, Cibola, which they said they had visited, "was built of stone, with houses four stories in height, and this was but one of seven, the greatest of which was Totonteac." An expedition was immediately organized to explore this country to its farthest limit, and it was given in charge of Francisco Vasquez Coronado, governor of one of the northern provinces, who had been appointed by the viceroy. This party set out in 1540 and was absent until late in the following year, during which time it explored the Colorado River for many leagues northward, traveled over the vast plains lying about the headwaters of the Canadian, and finally reached a point as far north as the 40th parallel, although George Bancroft thinks there may have been a mistake of a degree or two in their calculations.* No rich cities such as were described by Cabeza, or the friars who followed him, were found, nor were any rich gold mines discovered, although the expedition had penetrated into what has since become one of the principal gold and silver producing regions of the United States. It however determined definitely that there was no strait or waterway of any sort crossing the continent south of the 40th degree of north latitude. Nor was it without other useful result for it materially strengthened the Spanish claims to possessions on our northwest coast.

* History of the United States. Vol. I., Chap. II.

Still another expedition was fitted out in 1542, which, under the command of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo skirted the coast of California as far north as latitude 38 degrees, or a little north of the Bay of San Francisco. From this point it turned southward to the Santa Barbara Islands, where Cabrillo was taken sick and died. His pilot Ferello, being now in command, turned northward again and pursued his course steadily as far as Cape Mendocino, and it is thought by some that he may have gone still farther, and possibly saw, for the first time, some part of the coast of Oregon.

During the succeeding fifty years, no direct attempts were made by the Spaniards, so far as is now known, at exploration northward. Their attention was more particularly directed toward the far east, where it was more confidently hoped that wealthy provinces might be secured, and where the Portuguese, their most active competitors for the possession of newly discovered countries, and for the control of trade with them, were energetically disputing each Spanish enterprise. Cortez had not overlooked the possibilities which lay in this direction. In 1525 he had sent out two ships, with the object of taking the Philippine Islands, but the enterprise had not proved successful. A second one, under Ruy Lopez de Villabos, who commanded a much larger squadron, crossed the ocean from Mexico and succeeded in taking formal possession of the islands, but was forced to relinquish them, and it was not until 1564, after forty years of effort, that Miguel de Legazpi, who also sailed from Mexico, subjugated this much coveted archipelago and established Spanish authority there so firmly, that it remained for more than three hundred years.

With the expedition which Legazpi commanded, sailed a priest named Urdanata, who was well known as a skillful

THE NANCY GLOBE

Made of chased silver gilt; is about six inches in diameter. The land portions are represented in fine gilding, the water by azure blue enamel. It is now preserved in the town library of Nancy, France. It appears to have been made about 1530. It shows the new world as an extension of eastern Asia.





navigator, and who, but for the fact that he had taken orders, might have commanded the expedition. He was something more than a priest or a sailor; he was an observer of nature, and is believed to have noted for the first time, that the trade winds, blowing always in one direction within certain limits on both sides of the equator, making it easy to sail west but difficult to return, might be avoided on the return voyage, by sailing northward into a region where he surmised that the winds would be found to be more variable. Upon his recommendation the fleet, on its return, sailed directly north to about the 40th parallel, where the return voyage was made with far less difficulty.

After the subjugation of the Philippines, a large and very profitable trade sprang up between the islands, the other possessions of Spain in the eastern ocean, and the west coast of Mexico, the proceeds of which ultimately found their way into the coffers of the Spanish emperor. The caravels and other craft of the times of Columbus, Magellan, and Cortez, gave way to galleons, vessels much larger and more strongly built, and which crossed and recrossed the Pacific, bringing with them rich cargoes of silks and spices and much gold and silver. For nearly half a century these galleons monopolized this profitable trade. The Portuguese had been vanquished and driven from competition, and other nations disputed the Spanish authority but feebly. So far as the trade of the time was concerned the Pacific Ocean was simply a vast Spanish lake, in which the power of Spain was supreme. All other nations were forbidden to trade in it, and if now and then a Dutch or English ship ventured to set this prohibition at defiance, they were declared pirates and if captured were punished accordingly. Favored by the trade winds the galleons easily and swiftly made the passage to the

far east. Returning they followed the route which Urdanata had explored and laid down for them, to Cape Mendocino, where they found favoring winds which swept them down the coast to the harbors of San Blas and Acapulco, or carried them through the Strait of Magellan, whence they made their way to the harbors of Spain. The wealth of Charles and Philip was vastly increased by this traffic, but their narrow and bigoted policy restricted its natural growth, and limited it to a mere fraction of what it might have been. The developed wealth of the world was theirs if they had but known how to take advantage of it, and a vastly greater undeveloped wealth might have been theirs under a more enlightened policy. If they had known how to encourage even the limited enterprise of that day, or had they been willing to permit it to exert itself in a natural way, they might have developed, or permitted others to develop for them, a wealth far beyond their most avaricious dreams.

It is a remarkable fact that the first and most definite and reliable information to be received about a strait really existing in the region where navigators had so long supposed it to be, should be received in a credulous age with suspicion, and long afterwards distrusted as probably fabulous. Yet Juan de Fuca's story of the discovery by him of the strait which now bears his name, was so received and is still, by many, so regarded. One reason for this doubtless is that we have the story only at second hand. De Fuca himself left no record of his voyage, nor is there any corroborative evidence, so far as known, to be found in the papers of those who may have employed him. It may be that such evidence exists, and may yet be found in the musty records of the early viceroys of Spain in Mexico; if not found, its absence

may be accounted for by the fact that the old pilot discovered no city or country that could be plundered, and that he was not paid for the service he had rendered.

The only record we have of the supposed voyage and discovery of the strait by de Fuca, is in the memorandum report made by Michael Lok, an English merchant then living in Venice, of his conversations with the old pilot. This memorandum is entitled: "A note made by me, Michael Lok, the elder, touching the strait or sea, commonly called Fretum Anian, in the South Sea, through the north-west passage of Meta Incognita," and is as follows:

"When I was at Venice in April, 1596, haply arrived there an old man, about sixty years of age, called commonly Juan de Fuca, but named properly Apostolos Valerianus, of nation a Greek, born in Cephalaria, of profession a mariner, and an ancient pilot of ships. This man, being come recently out of Spain, arrived first at Leghorn, and went thence to Florence, where he found one John Douglas, an Englishman, a famous mariner, ready coming from Venice, to be a pilot of a Venetian ship for England, in whose company they both came together to Venice. And John Douglas being acquainted with me before, he gave me knowledge of this Greek pilot, and brought him to my speech; and in long talks and conferences with us, in presence of John Douglas, this Greek pilot declared, in the Italian and Spanish languages, thus much in effect as followeth:

"First, he said that he had been in the West Indies, of Spain forty years, and had sailed to and from many places thereof, in the service of the Spaniards.

"He said he was in the Spanish ship, which in returning from the Islands Philippinas, towards Nova Spania, was robbed and taken at the Cape California by Captain

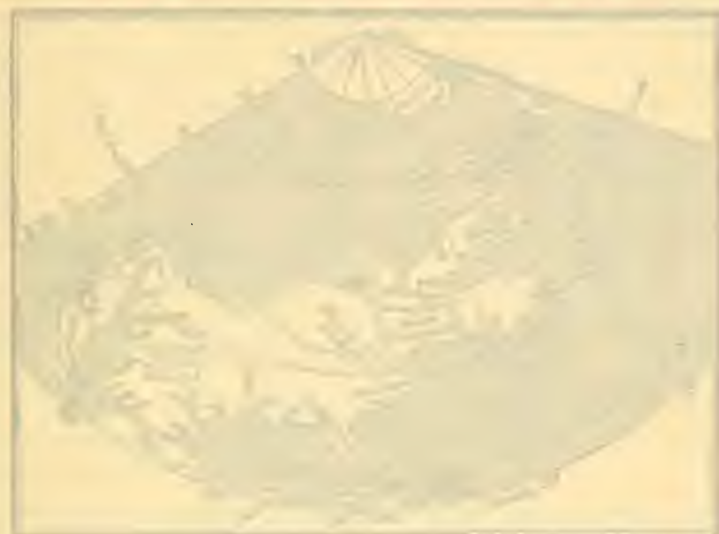
Candish, Englishman, whereby he lost sixty thousand ducats of his own goods.

“He also said that he was a pilot of three small ships which the Viceroy of Mexico sent from Mexico, armed with one hundred men, under a captain, Spaniards, to discover the Strait of Anian, along the coast of the South Sea, and to fortify in that strait, to resist the passage and proceedings of the English nation, which were feared to pass through those straits into the South Sea; and, that by reason of a mutiny which happened among the soldiers, for the misconduct of their captain, that voyage was overthrown, and the ship returned from California to Nova Spania, without anything done in their voyage; and that, after their return, the captain was at Mexico punished by justice.

“Also he said that, shortly after the said voyage was so ill-ended, the said Viceroy sent him out again in 1592, with a small caravel and a pinnace, armed with mariners only, to follow the said voyage for the discovery of the Strait of Anian, and the passage thereof into the sea; which they called the North Sea, which is our Northwest Sea; and that he followed his course in that voyage, west and northwest in the South Sea, all along the coast in Nova Spania, and California, and the Indies, now called North America, until he came to the latitude 47 degrees; and that, there finding that the land trended north and northeast, with a broad inlet of sea, between 47 and 48 degrees of latitude, he entered thereinto, sailing therein more than twenty days, and found that land trended still sometimes northwest, and northeast, and north, and also east, southeastward, and very much broader sea than was at said entrance, and that he passed by divers islands in that sailing; and that, at the entrance of this said strait, there is, on the northwest coast thereof,

LOK'S MAP.

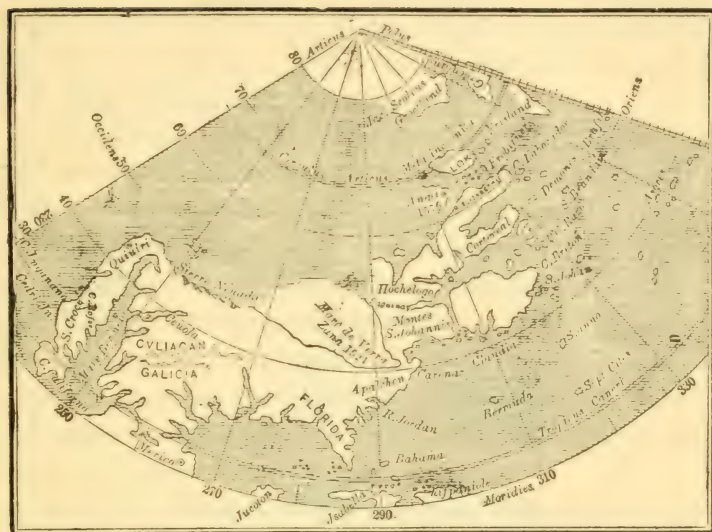
Dedicated by Michael Lok, a merchant of London,
to "that illustrious man, Lord Philip Sidney," in 1582.



Candish, Englishman, who sailed in the year six thousand six hundred and thirty one, and returned in the year six thousand six hundred and thirty two, and that he sailed in the year six thousand six hundred and thirty one, and returned in the year six thousand six hundred and thirty two.

"He also said that he was a pilot of three small ships which the Viceroy of Mexico sent from Mexico, armed with one hundred men, under a captain, Spaniard, to discover the Strait of Anian, along the coast of the South Sea, and to fortify in that strait, to resist the passage and proceedings of the English nation, which were feared to pass through those straits into the South Sea; and, that, by reason of a mutiny which happened among the soldiers, for the misconduct of their captain, that voyage was overthrown, and the ship returned from California to Nova Hispania, without anything done in their voyage; and that, after their return, the captain was at Mexico punished by prison.

"Also he said that shortly after the said voyage was so ill-ended, the said Viceroy sent him out again in 1592, with a small vessel and a pinnace, armed with mariners only, to follow the said voyage for the discovery of the Strait of Anian, and the passage thereof into the sea, which they called the North Sea, which is our Northern Sea; and that he followed his course in that voyage, west and northwest in the South Sea, all along the coast in Nova Hispania, and California, and the Indies, now called North America, until he came to the latitude 47 degrees; and that, there finding that the land trended north and northeast, with a broad tract of sea, between 47 and 48 degrees of latitude, he entered thereinto, sailing therein more than twenty days, and found that land trended still somewhat northward, and northeast, and north, and also east, southward, and very much broader sea than was at first entrance, and that he passed by divers islands in that sailing; and that, at the entrance of that said strait, there lay to the northwest coast thereof,



a great headland or island, with an exceeding high pinnacle, or spired rock, like a pillar, thereupon."

"Also, he said that he went on land in divers places, and that he saw some people on land clad in beast's skins; and that the land is very fruitful, and rich of gold, silver, pearls and other things, like Nova Spania."

"And also, he said that he being entered thus far into the said strait, and being come into the North Sea already, and finding the sea wide enough everywhere, and to be about thirty or forty leagues wide in the mouth of the strait where he entered, he thought he had now well discharged his office; and that, not being armed to resist the force of the savage people that might happen, he therefore set sail, and returned homewards again towards Nova Spania, where he arrived at Acapulco anno 1592, hoping to be rewarded by the viceroy for this service done in the said voyage.

"Also, he said that after coming to Mexico he was greatly welcomed by the viceroy, and had promises of great reward; but that having sued there two years, and obtained nothing to his content, the viceroy told him that he should be rewarded in Spain, of the king himself, very greatly, and willed him therefore to go into Spain, which he did perform."

Mr. Greenhow, most careful of all historians of the exploration of our coast, thinks there is "a strong presumption in favor of the authority and general correctness of this report." The errors in the description of the strait, its shores and conspicuous objects in its neighborhood, he thinks, "are few and slight, and are certainly all within the limits of supposable error on the part of the Greek, especially considering his advanced age, and the circumstance that he spoke only from recollection; while on the other hand the circumstances are too strong to be attributed only to chance." It

might well be added also that the story was not told to Lok until 1596, while the voyage was made, if made at all, in 1592, four years earlier. It is quite possible also that the errors are Lok's rather than de Fuca's. The story was told him in a foreign language, or rather in a mixture of Greek and Spanish, and it is quite within the bounds of belief that he did not accurately understand it all. Moreover it was evidently not at once reduced to writing. It is not even claimed that any memoranda were made, at the time or very soon thereafter, but the name of another who was present when the story was told is given, in case any one should care to seek confirmation of it. So, as we may now judge, Lok listened to it merely as an interesting narrative of wanderings in a then unknown part of the world, and recalled it six years afterward when he was seeking to encourage Sir Walter Raleigh, Lord Burleigh and others then in favor with Queen Elizabeth to undertake new enterprises of discovery. Under such circumstances it is hardly to be expected that the writer would repeat the descriptions of the strait, its location, the trend of its shores and the prominent landmarks in its neighborhood, as accurately as they had been given him, even by one who described them from memory four years after he had seen them. Exactly two hundred years later, Vancouver found the strait so nearly in the location in which de Fuca had placed it, according to Lok's report, as to convince him that the old sailor had really been in it, and he very considerably gave it his name. Perhaps his generosity in the matter is not altogether surprising, since he found in it at the time of his arrival, or soon after, an American ship which, with its consort, had arrived in these waters three years previously, and had quite extensively explored them. He could not, under such circumstances,

claim to have discovered it, and the very natural thing to do was to give the credit for discovery to the man who had been there so much earlier.

According to Lok, de Fuca had given the latitude of the strait as between 47 and 48 degrees; it was found to be between 48 and 49. There were islands in it as he said there were. It was quite credible that de Fuca, with his caravels, had sailed in it for twenty days, and if viewed from a point seventy or eighty miles within the entrance, "the shores trended sometimes northeast and north, and also southeast and eastward," and "there was a very much broader sea than there was at the entrance." The great headland, or island, "with an exceeding high pinnacle or spired rock, like a pillar thereupon" was wanting from the entrance on "the northwest coast thereof," but Mount Olympus, a landmark that every observer would remember, and mention without fail, was on the south side. Most likely this mistake was Lok's. Having such a landmark mentioned to him in the account of the voyage he would be likely to remember that it was there somewhere, but it is not at all strange if he forgot its exact location, and placed it on the wrong side of the channel, in recalling the description five or six years after it had been given him. Had de Fuca written his story himself, and made such an error, it might be regarded as evidence that his description was fanciful.*

* Wilkes gives a picture of what he supposes to be this "spired rock," as he saw it at the mouth of the strait in 1841. Commodore Phelps, however, is of the opinion that de Fuca sailed around Vancouver Island and that the rock referred to is at the entrance to Johnstone's Strait. In an article in the *United Service Magazine* for December 1881, after quoting de Fuca's description, he says: "By this brief history it appears that Juan de Fuca in twenty days sailed from the Pacific through the

It is to be admitted that the story of de Fuca's voyage is unsupported by other written evidence, such as those who employed him might possibly be supposed to have left, and for that reason it is to be suspected. But if we consider the conditions which prevailed in Mexico and other Spanish provinces, and even in Spain itself at that period, the absence of such evidence will not seem so strange. Of all European countries, Spain emerged most slowly from the gloom of the dark ages. For successive generations its monarchs had been acquiring and holding dominion over other countries

straits bearing his name; then by Canal de Haro, through the Gulf of Georgia and Johnson Strait, and finally reached the ocean by the Goletas Channel, when, supposing he had arrived in the Atlantic through the long sought-for passage, and being satisfied with his discovery, he retraced his steps, and during a period of one hundred and ninety-seven years rested under the imputation of having coined the story of his discovery out of his own fertile brain; and it was as late as 1789 before his veracity became established in the rediscovery of the straits by Capt. Kendrick in the American sloop Washington, who passed through the waters named into Queen Charlotte Sound. To the present day doubts exist in the minds of some writers regarding de Fuca's credibility, and much adverse criticism has been indulged in, consequent upon the obscure wording of the paragraph quoted which refers to the great headland or island and the high spired rock like a pillar which has been usually applied to the western entrance of the straits, and the locality is naturally ascribed to a position on the northwest side near Bonilla Point, Vancouver Island, where, to all observers, no such pillar or headland ever existed. All doubt on this subject is at once removed by applying the paragraph in question to the western entrance of Johnson's Strait, or rather the Goletas Channel at the northwest end of Galiano Island, a remarkable promontory twelve hundred feet high, we find a solution of the difficulty; and that *at the entrance of said strait*, calling the various bodies of water separating Vancouver's Island from the mainland as one continuous strait, there is, on the northwest coast thereof, a great island or headland, with an exceeding high pinnacle or spired rock like a pillar thereon, which fully answers the description, and reconciles the paragraph with the truth as well as we find it in nature."

James G. Swan quotes this opinion of Commodore Phelps with approval, in his address to the Washington pioneers in June 1887.

by their arms, by marriage, by inheritance or gift, or by the valor and enterprise of their adventurous sailors, until at the time of his death, which occurred only six years after de Fuca's discovery, the empire of Philip II was the broadest then existing, and probably the most extensive and powerful that had ever been known.

But extensive as his dominions were, the total income from them, during the later years of Philip's life, according to Mr. Motley, did not exceed sixteen million dollars, most of which was pledged in advance for the interest on loans he had not yet repudiated, or for subsidies the payment of which he could not evade. So extravagant had been the cost of wars, and so wretched the management of his civil affairs, that not only his treasury but his people were impoverished. No useful art or occupation had been encouraged during his reign, or in that of his father. Labor was esteemed to be disgraceful even by the poorest, and the multitude were miserably poor. The few who ventured to seek wealth, or even moderate profit by trade, or by the practice of any gainful occupation, were in hourly danger of being despoiled not only of their gains, but of the capital they might invest. The popular undertakings of the time, most certain to merit with favor from both sovereign and people, were such as proposed to despoil somebody of wealth already accumulated. To find some heathen or heretic people, living in cities "roofed with gold," such as Marco Polo had described, and despoil and bring away from them shiploads of treasure, was the dream of every adventurer, and the hope of every Spanish monarch. Toscanelli well knew this when he sent Columbus a copy of his letter to Alfonso V of Portugal, in which he described the splendors of many oriental cities, and added that the island of Cipango "abounds in gold,

pearls and precious stones, and they cover the temples and palaces with solid gold." And while this opulent description was not required to inflame the ambition of Columbus himself, Toscanelli doubtless knew it would be useful, as it doubtless was, to stimulate the avaricious hopes of those on whom he must rely to fit out his expedition. It was the hope of finding vast wealth, so developed and accumulated and ready to be seized and carried away, that inspired Cortez to make the conquest of Mexico, and Pizzaro to make that of Peru; it sustained Coronado in his tedious wanderings in the arid wastes and treeless plains of the northern Mexico of his time, and de Soto in his toilsome march through the marshes of Florida and other Southern States of our day, to the great river which finally gave him a grave. It encouraged every Spanish explorer, and the employer of every Spanish explorer of our coasts from Grijalva to Fidalgo.

It was quite the custom of Philip II, when he could no longer fit out expeditions for great undertakings at his own cost, to direct his governors, generals and other subordinates to prepare them and pay for them themselves. Thus, after the destrucion of his "Invincible Armada" in 1588, he coolly ordered the duke of Parma, then himself in desperate circumstances in his long war with the heroic Netherlanders, to build an armada of his own and carry out the purpose he had himself so wretchedly failed to accomplish. In the hope, perhaps, of replenishing his own treasury by fresh spoliations, it is quite probable that he urged his viceroys in the New World to renewed efforts to find something worth plundering. There is no certain evidence that he directed Monterey, who was then viceroy, to make any effort of this kind at or about the time that de Fuca claims to have been employed, though it is certain that shortly after his death his

son and successor did, and "at his own expense." But whether Monterey sent de Fuca out by instruction or without it, he evidently knew enough about Philip to know that in his gouty old age, and desperate financial straits, he would care to hear of no failures, and from the Spanish point of view the expedition had not been successful. It is true that the discovery of what seemed so likely to be the strait so long looked for, ought to have been regarded with interest, but no cities roofed or paved with gold had been found, nor was it likely that any existed in a neighborhood where nobody lived but savages who were "clad in beast's skins." It is therefore quite conceivable that he made no report of this expedition, especially as we know that other and later expeditions that were not successful were, for a time at least, unreported.

Late in the sixteenth century, when the long reign of Philip II was nearing its end, and when his morose and sullen nature had been rendered still more morose and sullen by the disasters of his long campaigns in the low countries; by the destruction of his Armada on the English coast, and by the failure of his efforts to eradicate heresy; when his treasury was empty, and his fondest ambitions disappointed; with his body racked by a thousand tortures, he began to turn his attention once more to the exploration of that part of his realm in which he had long hoped there might exist, and in which there was still hope of finding new sources of wealth. The fabled Strait of Anian was again remembered. If it could be found it would so far shorten the route to India as to bring into his coffers at once the wealth that he might otherwise never realize. He therefore resolved that new efforts should be made to find it, and whatever else of value might be found with it. Monterey was accordingly urged

to new efforts, and as soon as possible three vessels were prepared, and sent north under the command of Sebastian Viscaino, a distinguished officer, who had been in the ship *Santa Anna*, which Cavendish—the Candish of de Fuca's story—had taken and burned off Cape San Lucas some years earlier. But this venture accomplished but little. The ships did not venture beyond the Gulf of California, and after planting a few feeble colonies along the coast of the peninsula the ships returned again to Acapulco.

The viceroy apparently hoped by this feeble effort to comply with the royal will, to escape the heavier cost of sending out a more capable expedition, but if so he was disappointed. Philip II was scarcely in his grave before Philip III sent unmistakably positive orders to have the work resumed and carried to completion. According to Torquemada, the new king "knew that the viceroy of Mexico had endeavored to discover a northern passage; and he had found, among his father's papers, a declaration of certain strangers, to the effect that they had been driven by violent winds from the codfish coast, on the Atlantic, to the South Sea, through the Strait of Anian, which is beyond Cape Mendocino, and had on their way seen a rich and populous city, well fortified, and inhabited by a numerous and civilized nation, who had treated them well; as also many other things worthy to be seen and known. His Majesty had also been informed that ships, sailing from China to Mexico, ran great risks particularly near Cape Mendocino, where the storms were most violent, and that it would be advantageous to have that coast surveyed thence to Acapulco, so that the ships, mostly belonging to his Majesty, should find place for relief and refreshment when needed." An order was accordingly given to Monterey, to have the work of exploration and

survey resumed at his own cost. As happens frequently when a new authority comes into power, it was resumed with more vigor and with better provision for success than formerly. A new and much better expedition was prepared, consisting of two large ships and a small one, which were provided with a scientific corps and much better apparatus than had been furnished any of the preceding expeditions. This left Acapulco in 1602. It encountered many difficulties which were very discouraging to its commander Viscaino, who speaks in his report of their "chief enemy the northwest wind," which was raised up, he says "by the foe of the human race in order to prevent the advance of the ships, and to delay the discovery of those countries, and the conversion of their inhabitants to the true Catholic faith." But notwithstanding this obstruction, the little fleet advanced further north than any of its predecessors are known to have done, unless we accept the story of Juan de Fuca as genuine. It entered the Bay of Monterey, which was named for the viceroy. After leaving this bay the three vessels were separated by a storm and Viscaino took refuge in the Bay of San Francisco, which some of the Spanish explorers had probably seen at an earlier date. He afterwards sailed north as far as the 42d parallel, where he saw a high white bluff, possibly near Port Orford, of the present day. From this point he returned to Mexico. The smaller ship belonging to the expedition, commanded by Aguilar, sailed still farther north and made more important discoveries along the Oregon coast. Torquemada, as translated by Greenhow, gives this account of Aguilar's discoveries:

"The fragata parted from the Capitana (Viscaino's ship), and supposing that she had gone onward, sailed in pursuit of her. Being in the latitude of 41 the wind began

to blow from the southwest, and the fragata being unable to withstand the waves on her beam, ran before the wind until she found shelter under the land, and anchored near Cape Mendocino, behind a great rock, where she remained until the gale had passed over. When the wind became less violent they continued their voyage close along shore, and, on the 19th of January, the pilot, Antonio Flores, found that they were in the latitude of 43 degrees, where they found a cape, or point, which they named Cape Blanco. From that point the coast begins to turn northwest; and near it was discovered a rapid and abundant river, with ash trees, willows, and brambles, and other trees of Castile, on its banks, which they endeavored to enter, but could not from the force of the current. Ensign Martin de Aguilar, the commander, and Antonio Flores, the pilot, saw they had already reached a higher latitude than had been ordered by the viceroy, in his instructions; that the Capitana did not appear; and as the number of the sick was great, agreed to return to Acapulco; and they did so, as I shall hereafter show. It was supposed that this river is the one leading to a great city, which was discovered by the Dutch when they were driven thither by storms, and that it is the Strait of Anian, through which the vessels passed, in sailing from the North Sea (Atlantic) to the South Sea (Pacific); and that the city called Quivira is in those parts; and that this is the region referred to in the account which his Majesty read, and which induced him to order this expedition."

It is certain that Aguilar found no very large river in the part of Oregon which he thus explored. It was desirable at that time, however, to make as much as possible of what he had found, to show that the Spanish people knew as much as anybody had yet learned, and that they possessed the

Pacific entrance to whatever strait there might be in this part of the continent.

During the succeeding one hundred and seventy years, but little was done by Spain in the way of exploring our western coast. After the death of Philip, the power of Spain entered upon a period of gradual decline from which it has never recovered. A succession of feeble princes occupied the throne from his time until the death of Charles II, when the war of the Spanish succession resulted in substituting the house of Bourbon for that of Hapsburg as the ruling power. But the change brought no improvement in Spanish affairs, and it was not until the seventeenth century was drawing to a close that enterprises looking to the extension and protection of Spanish interests in California and beyond were resumed. Some effort of this kind had become necessary. Harbors of refuge for ships engaging in the commerce of the South Pacific were desirable, and besides, such harbors as existed, many of which were yet unexplored, were coming to be used as hiding places for pirates who, lying in wait there in safety, easily sallied forth and often made rich captures of Spanish cargoes on their way from the Philippines and Moluccas to Spain.

A first attempt to accomplish what was desired was made by colonization. The Jesuits, always the most aggressive missionary force of the Catholic church, had already become strong in Mexico and the other Spanish possessions on this continent, and they were solicited to undertake the lead in this new enterprise. They established, as early as 1697, a mission in Lower California, near La Paz, where Cortez had effected a landing so many years earlier, and encountered so many hardships. Under their management, in the course of the succeeding fifty years, a line of missions had been

established from the southern extremity of the peninsula almost as far north as its connection with the mainland. Once established these missions grew and prospered. Each consisted of a church, a store house, and mission buildings sufficient to afford a comfortable residence for the padre in charge and his assistants, and in time the Indians were induced to abandon their savage and indolent habits; to occupy the homes that were provided for them in the neighborhood of the mission; to aid in cultivating the ground; in caring for the cattle with which each of the missions was supplied, and so to increase its wealth, as well as to greatly improve their own condition. These missions prospered so unmistakeably as in course of time to excite the avarice of the Spanish viceroys, and even to alarm the Spanish kings. The priests were charged with building up a religious hierarchy which was rapidly becoming wealthy and inimical to the secular authority. They were accordingly driven out of the comfortable homes they had thus established for themselves and their converts, despoiled of their property, and at last driven from the country by the edict of 1767.

Two years later, the viceroy found a new cause of alarm in the exploration of the Russians in Bering Sea, and along the coast which were beginning to threaten the Spanish authority from the north. The publication by De Lisle of the result of exploration and discoveries in 1749 and '50 were attracting the attention of Europe, and not only the viceroy but the king himself began to regret the expulsion of the religious colonists from southern California, and to take measures to begin the work of colonization anew. This time it was intrusted to the Franciscans, to whom what remained of the old Jesuit missions on the lower peninsula, were transferred. Father Junipero Serra was placed in charge of the

undertaking. The old maps of Viscaino and Aguilar and reports of other explorers were brought forth from their hiding places and consulted, and San Diego and Monterey were selected as the two points in California where the missionary work was to be begun. Plans were set on foot to begin it with something more than the usual Spanish energy. The monks and friars were to start from La Paz with herds of cattle, sheep and such other useful animals as would be helpful to them in their colonization enterprise, and march north through the peninsula to the points indicated, where ships carrying other material and goods necessary to their undertaking were to meet them. The overland march through the lower peninsula was accomplished with success. San Diego was reached in safety; the promised ships arrived there in good time, and the mission was successfully established and supplied. The second party pursued its course northward, but missing the Bay of Monterey reached that of San Francisco. Their supply ship failed to find them—in fact after sailing from La Paz it was never again heard of. The party returned to San Diego, but in the following year again set out for the north, and succeeded in establishing its mission.

It is not necessary, for the purposes of this history, to follow the story of these missions further. It has been told in romance and in song, as well as in more substantial and authentic form, and will never fail to interest and entertain those who enjoy descriptions of peaceful pastoral life, or who are interested in the efforts of various kinds that have been made, or that may be made, to civilize the Indian. In course of time a system of these missions was established that covered almost the entire State of California. Each was under the direction of a padre, who gathered about him a

large number of Indians, by whose assistance he cultivated a considerable area of land, and raised immense herds of cattle, sheep and horses, built a church and such other buildings as were necessary and the success of his undertaking made desirable. The flocks and herds that were brought into California in this way, formed the principal source of supply, from which were drawn the cattle and sheep which provided the early settlers in the Willamette Valley, made the beginning of the vaster herds once owned by the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, and which roamed over a large part of what is now Pierce County, and finally stocked the stations of the Hudson's Bay Company, and from them the ranches of the early settlers in both eastern Washington and Oregon.

These missionary efforts at colonization were well enough in their day, and served the purpose of the Spanish authority so far as occupation of the land was concerned, but in course of time there came a day when the feeble successors of Charles V and Philip II began to realize that they must arouse themselves to new efforts in the way of exploration and discoveries. England, France, and Holland as well as Russia were beginning to send their ships into the Pacific, to make explorations along its western shore, and to take possession of places from which they might in time seriously menace the Spanish authority. New expeditions were accordingly prepared and sent to explore farther, and more particularly the coast northward. The first of these was prepared in 1774 and sailed from San Blas under the command of Juan Perez. He touched at San Diego and Monterey, leaving the latter harbor in June.

He was instructed to go north to the 60th parallel, and thence coast south, examining the shores and particularly the

harbors. He went north as far as the 54th parallel, which he reached on the 18th of July, where, the weather being stormy and his crew already beginning to show signs of the scurvy, that great foe of the Spanish sailor, he concluded to go no further but turned back and began the work of exploration.

He touched at Queen Charlotte's Island, where he found the natives quite willing to trade. There he did a small business in the purchase of sea otter skins, the value of which he did not appreciate, nor did he or those who employed him at all realize the possibilities which lay in the way of a business of that kind. He did not explore the shore so far as to discover that the island was not a part of the mainland, or to find any of the numerous channels, so suggestive of the Strait of Anian, that were to be found in and about that region. After a short stay, he sailed south and did not touch land again until he was near the 49th parallel, where he found a fine harbor which he called Port Lorenzo, and which is now known as Nootka Sound. He was surprised to find here, and at other places where he touched, that the Indians were supplied with knives, and with arrows tipped with iron, evidence that they had been visited at some earlier time by a ship from some civilized country. The Indians were evidently familiar with traders, and were quite anxious to trade with him, but not being provided to any considerable extent with goods suitable for trading with them, he sailed away. On his way southward he did not see de Fuca's Strait, although Martinez, his pilot, afterward claimed that they had seen the cape at its southern entrance, and a high mountain on its southern shore, evidently Mount Olympus. His voyage was not therefore very fruitful of results, and the Spanish authority made no publication of it for a considerable time afterwards.

Thoroughly disappointed at the small return from this undertaking, the viceroy immediately prepared another expedition, consisting of two vessels, a ship and a schooner. The expedition was under the command of Bruno Heceta, with Lieutenant Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra in command of the schooner. They were instructed, as Perez had been, to sail northward to the 60th parallel and then explore the shore south to California. They left San Blas in March and reached Cape Mendocino in June. Here, in a small bay north of the cape, they remained for nine days, refitted their ships, and took in water and such other supplies as could be obtained there. They found the Indians very peaceable, and inclined to be friendly, and like those found by Perez at Nootka, they had small articles of iron and copper. After taking formal possession of the country in the name of their sovereigns, the expedition put to sea, and next sighted land in latitude 47, near Destruction Island, as we now know it, where Bodega sent a small boat ashore in search of water. This was the first known landing made by white men on the shores of Washington. The crew was immediately seized and murdered by the natives, who also surrounded the ship in their canoes and threatened its destruction. The older Indians now living in this neighborhood claim to remember that a ship once came there, from which the sailors came ashore and began to rob their smokehouses. They say that a battle immediately ensued in which the white men were all killed or driven away. Possibly their account is true. If so the murdered sailors were those from Bodega's vessel or Berkeley's, for Berkeley lost a boat's crew in the same neighborhood, and in a similar way only a few years later. It is possible also that the inquiries made among these Indians about the murder of Bodega's sailors may

have furnished them with a basis for the whole story. The Indian is always accommodating. He is willing to remember anything you want to know, if you will kindly give him some hint in advance of what you want him to remember.

The schooner was so crippled by the loss of sailors in this battle and by the scurvy, which was beginning to appear, that Heceta desired to return to Monterey, but Bodega and his pilot thought they might still be able to carry out their instructions, and after a long discussion of the matter, Heceta very reluctantly started north again on the 20th of July. A storm separated the two ships a few days later, and Heceta took advantage of the opportunity to turn south again. He examined the shore between the 47th and 48th parallels, where he had heard that de Fuca had found a strait, but not finding it, he continued south to latitude 46 degrees and 10 minutes, where he found indications of a great river somewhere in the neighborhood. He made two unsuccessful attempts to enter the bay at its mouth, but its strong current prevented. He named the opening Assumption Inlet, and to the cape on its north side he gave the name of Cabo San Roque, and that on the south side he named Cabo Frondoso. This entrance was afterward charted as Heceta's Inlet. It was evidently the mouth of the Columbia, and if he had been a little more persevering he would have discovered it. His account of his experience there is sufficiently interesting to be transcribed in full.

“On the 17th of August I sailed along the coast to the 46th degree, and observed that from the latitude 47 degrees 4 minutes to that of 46 degrees 10 minutes, it runs in the angle of 18 degrees of the second quadrant, and from that latitude to 46 degrees 4 minutes, in the angle of 12 degrees of the

same quadrant; the soundings, the shore, the wooded character of the country, and the little islands, being the same as on the preceding days.

“On the evening of this day I discovered a large bay, to which I gave the name Assumption Bay, and a plan of which will be found in this journal. Its latitude and longitude are determined according to the most exact means afforded by theory and practice. The latitudes of the two most prominent capes of this bay are calculated from the observations of this day.

“Having arrived opposite this bay at six in the evening, and placed the ship nearly midway between the two capes, I sounded and found bottom in four brazas (nearly four fathoms). The currents and eddies were so strong that, notwithstanding a press of sail, it was difficult to get clear of the northern cape, toward which the current ran, though its direction was eastward in consequence of the tide being at flood. These currents and eddies caused me to believe that the place is the mouth of some great river, or of some passage to another sea. Had I not been certain of the latitude of this bay, from my observations of the same day, I might easily have believed it to be the passage discovered by Juan de Fuca, in 1592, which is placed on the charts between the 47th and the 48th degrees; where I am certain no such strait exists; because I anchored on the 14th of July midway between these latitudes, and carefully examined everything around. Notwithstanding the great difference between this bay and the passage mentioned by de Fuca, I have little difficulty in conceiving they may be the same, having observed equal or greater differences in the latitudes of other capes and ports on this coast, as I will show at the proper time; and in all cases latitudes thus assigned are higher than the real ones.

“I did not enter and anchor in this port, which in my plan I suppose to be formed by an island, notwithstanding my strong desire to do so; because, having consulted with the second captain Don Juan Perez and the pilot Don Christoval Revilla, they insisted I ought not to attempt it, as, if we let go the anchor, we should not have enough men to get it up, and to attend to the other operations which would be thereby necessary. Considering this, and also, that, in order to reach the anchorage, I should be obliged to lower my long boat (the only boat I had) and to man it with at least fourteen of the crew, as I could not manage with fewer, and also as it was then late in the day, I resolved to put out; and at the distance of three leagues I lay to. In the course of that night I experienced heavy currents to the southwest, which made it impossible to enter the bay on the following morning, as I was far to leeward. These currents, however, convinced me that a great quantity of water rushed from this bay on the ebb of the tide.

“The two capes which I name in my plan Cabo San Roque and Cabo Frondoso, lie in the angle of 10 degrees of the third quadrant. They are both faced with red earth and are of little elevation.

“On the 18th I observed Cape Frondoso, with another cape, to which I gave the name of Cape Falcon, situated in the latitude of 45 degrees 43 minutes, and they lay at an angle of 22 degrees of the third quadrant, and from the last mentioned cape I traced the coast running in the angle of 5 degrees of the second quadrant. This land is mountainous, but not very high, nor so well wooded as that lying between the latitudes of 48 degrees 30 minutes, and 46 degrees. On sounding I found great differences: at the distance of seven leagues I got bottom at 84 brazas; and nearer the coast I

sometimes found no bottom; from which I am inclined to believe there are reefs or shoals on these coasts, which is also shown by the color of the water. In some places the coast presents a beach, in others it is rocky.

“A flat-topped mountain, which I named the Table, will enable any navigator to know the position of Cape Falcon without observing it; as it is in the latitude of 45 degrees 28 minutes, and may be seen at a great distance, being somewhat elevated.”

Bodega sailed north evidently as far as Sitka, where he discovered Mount Edgecomb and made other discoveries not important to this history.

A third expedition composed of two ships under command of Ignacio Arteaga, sailed to the far north in 1779 but added little to what was already known of that coast, and nothing to what was known of our own.

In the two hundred and sixty years that had now elapsed since Balboa first saw the ocean from the mountain tops of Panama, fifteen expeditions, not counting those with which de Fuca claims to have sailed, comprising twenty-nine ships and some smaller craft, had been sent out by the Spaniards to explore the western coast of North America. Most of these ships had been built for these expeditions and no other purpose. Some of them had gone far to the north, but nowhere had a careful examination of the coast been made. Few points on the coast of Oregon had been seen, and fewer landings made. Heceta had narrowly escaped discovering the Columbia, and Perez and Martinez had seen the top of Mount Olympus, which they called Sierra de Santa Rosalia. Years afterwards Martinez remembered that they had seen the entrance to de Fuca's Strait, though if they did so, it is strange that the fact was nowhere mentioned in the

journals or reports of the voyage. No Spaniard, during all these years, is positively known to have set foot on shore anywhere between Cape Mendocino and Cape Flattery, unless Aguilar may have done so when he observed that the banks of the "rapid and abundant river" he claimed to have discovered, where no such stream now exists, was covered with "ash trees, willows, brambles and other trees of Castile," or Bodega's sailors may have touched shore before they were murdered near Destruction Island.

During the nine succeeding years no further effort was made by the Spanish government, or its viceroys in Mexico, to explore the northwest coast. But the publication of Cook's journals in 1784, and reports that the English were renewing their efforts to find the Strait of Anian, and that their fur traders were beginning to appear at Nootka, aroused them to action again. Estevan Martinez and Gonzalo Haro were hurried north, with two ships, to note what the Russians were doing on the Alaska coast, and to look for some convenient place farther south where a Spanish colony might be advantageously planted. They returned without accomplishing anything of consequence, and sailed again the following year, with instructions to establish Spanish authority permanently at Nootka Sound. They arrived at Nootka on May 6, 1789. Previous to that time no settlement or establishment of any sort had been founded or attempted by any civilized nation, on any part of the coast, between the Bay of San Francisco and Prince William's Sound. Captain John Meares claimed, in the following year, that certain tracts of land near Nootka had been ceded to him by the Indians in 1788, but his claim was unsupported by sufficient evidence, and moreover was indirectly contradicted by his

own journal.* Meares, though an English officer, had visited the coast under the Portuguese flag in 1788, having sailed from China. One of his ships, in a disabled condition, was at Nootka when the Spaniards arrived and another was not very far away. Both were seized by Martinez who found fault with their Portuguese papers, and subsequently another English ship, the *Argonaut*, under Captain Collnet, was seized in a similar way, and her captain was sent to Mexico, where he became insane. Still later the *Princess Royal*, a ship, and the schooner *Northwest America* were seized, though the American ships *Columbia* and the *Washington*, commanded by Captains Gray and Kendrick, were in the harbors, or its neighborhood, and were not molested.

These seizures led to complications, and a long diplomatic correspondence between England and Spain resulted. War for a time seemed probable, and would perhaps have resulted but for the fact that the French revolution had by this time so far alarmed the crowned heads of Europe, that wars, except for their own defence, had become manifestly undesirable. The Nootka convention was accordingly negotiated, by which Spain agreed to restore to Great Britain the buildings and lands at Nootka, of which Meares claimed he had been deprived, and that proper reparation should be made by each country for any indignities or losses suffered by the other from its agents. The convention further provided that both powers should thereafter be free to make settlements on any part of the North Pacific Coast not already occupied.

An attempt was made a few years later to restore the buildings and lands, as the convention provided, Captain George Vancouver having been instructed, as part of his mission to

* Greenhow: *History of Oregon and California*, Fourth Edition, p. 188.

the north in 1792, to call at Nootka and receive them. But no such buildings and lands as Meares had described could be found, nor could the Indians remember that the buildings had ever existed, and after an arduous but fruitless effort to determine what should be restored, nothing was restored, and shortly afterwards both powers retired, leaving the country for the time being to its original inhabitants.*

Martinez was deprived of his command, after returning to Mexico, but his ships, together with those he had seized from the British traders, were sent north again in 1790, with Francisco Elisa in charge. With him sailed Lieutenants Salvador Fidalgo and Manuel Quimper. The latter officer was assigned, during the summer of 1790, to make a more particular and careful examination of de Fuca Strait than had so far been made. In accordance with his instructions he followed the passage eastward for a distance of about one hundred miles, examining both shores, and finding finally that the strait branched off into passages extending both north and south, with smaller channels leading eastward, most of which he did not explore for want of time. He however found and named the great arm of the sea extending southward, which is now so frequently but erroneously spoken of as Puget Sound. He named it Canal de Caamano, and Vancouver subsequently called it Admiralty Inlet, the name it still retains. He also named Guemes Canal and the Canal de Haro, which subsequently became so famous in the boundary controversy between the United States and Great Britain. Among the other places observed and named by Quimper, were Deception Pass, which he called Boca de Flon, Port Discovery, which he called Port Quadra, Port

*Greenhow's History of Oregon and California, p. 257.

Quimper and Port Nunez Gaona, afterwards called Poverty Cove, near Cape Flattery.

While Quimper was thus exploring the strait and giving Spanish names to its harbors and channels, nine vessels from England and seven from the United States were trading with the Indians in and near the strait. While Vancouver was engaged in his survey of the strait and its adjacent waters in 1792, he came upon two small Spanish schooners of about forty-five tons each, under command of Lieutenants Galiano and Valdez, who were engaged in the same undertaking. Although the meeting was presumably not very agreeable to either party, as each was doubtless anxious to secure for itself whatever merit might follow the exploration, they received and treated each other with civility, remaining together for about three weeks, during which time each exhibited to the other its charts and journals with the greatest freedom. But in course of time the English, being better equipped in every way, left the Spaniards too far behind for further conference. Vancouver sailed north through Johnstone Strait, and in course of time the Spaniards followed him. They seem to have examined the San Juan archipelago with some care, and the names they gave in that locality, or some of them, still remain. Among them was Canal del Rosario, now known as Rosario Strait. At Nootka the Spanish governor Quadra and Vancouver agreed that the island around which Kendrick had sailed three years before, and of which Vancouver had now completed the survey, should be named the Island of Quadra and Vancouver.

Some time while the Spaniards were still at Nootka, though in what year is not certain, an effort was made to establish a station on the south side of Fuca's Strait, near what is now known as Neah Bay. Fidalgo is supposed to

have had charge of the undertaking. A landing was made and some material was put on shore, but it does not appear that any habitable building was raised, or that those who made the landing long remained on shore. Mr. James G. Swan who made as careful inquiry as could be made in his time in regard to this enterprise of the Spaniards says: "When I first visited Neah Bay, in 1859, there were two or three very old Indians there who told me different stories. One was that the Spaniards built a brick house with a shingle roof, and surrounded with palisades; another was that the house was of wood, with a brick chimney; and another that they built no house at all, but simply landed some bricks and other material, and before they could build the house they were driven away by the Indians. But the bricks remained, covered up with the accumulated family rubbish thrown out by the Indians. Many of these bricks I have dug out. They are in form like a tile, about 10 inches long, $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick, made of adobe clay, and partially burned."* Mr. Lewis F. D. Shelton, while surveying in that neighborhood, some years ago, was shown by the Indians the spot on which the building operations were begun. On digging up the ground some bricks were found that were evidently of foreign manufacture, being much broader and thinner than bricks are now made. It was also apparent that they were made of a clay different from any known anywhere in Oregon or Washington. Understanding the Indian language well, he was able to make inquiry with success, as to when and how these bricks came there. He was told that very many years ago, and long before any one then living was born, some strangers had come there in a ship, and had started to make a

* Address to the Pioneers of Puget Sound, June 1887.

building. They brought the bricks with them and carried them on shore. Most of the Indians did not object. They were willing enough to have the strangers come and live with them. But one Indian who had a very ugly nature objected. He was known as "the one who could outrun a dog." One day when most of the strangers were still on their ship, he saw three of them in a quiet little bay on shore washing their clothes. He thought he could kill and rob them, and then run away before those on the ship could come on shore and capture him, so from a safe hiding place he shot one of the party with an arrow, whereupon the others took to their boat and hastened back to the ship. Soon after the ship sailed away and never returned again.

This may or may not be the true story of the only genuine attempt made by the Spaniards to make a permanent settlement in any part of Oregon. That they did make such an attempt there can be no doubt. The purpose of it is not easily guessed, since they cared but little for undeveloped wealth, though it seems most probable that they may have planned at one time to remove to this post if they should be compelled to abandon Nootka.

Here the efforts of the Spaniards to explore our coast ended. So much and no more did they accomplish in a period of more than two hundred and fifty years, from the time of Cortez to that of George Washington. But what they did was done in the face of difficulties that navigators no longer encounter, and that are not now easily understood. Their ships were small and illy constructed. Their instruments for calculating their course and fixing their place at sea, were of the crudest sort, and usually unreliable. Their sailors were poorly paid, worse fed, and so badly provided in all respects that they were almost constantly afflicted with

scurvy. Under such conditions it is not surprising that they were so frequently in a state of mutiny, and that so many expeditions from which so much was hoped, resulted in so little that was of permanent value.

CHAPTER III.

ENGLISH DISCOVERERS.

THE first English seaman to force his way into the Pacific was John Oxenham, and he came in by way of Panama, crossing the isthmus on foot. He called himself a free trader, though he was more nearly a free booter, and in modern times would be called in plain terms a pirate. But the standard of maritime morality was not high in his time, and his enterprise was probably not regarded with less favor than is that of many people at the present day, who claim to be engaged in legitimate business, but devote most of their energies to the acquirement of property belonging to their friends and neighbors and business associates, without giving much in exchange for it; who aim to be honest only so far as they are required to be so by the statutes made and provided; who

Would not play false,

And yet would wrongly win;

who wouldn't rob a bank, and yet would not hesitate to wreck a railroad; who "rob widows' houses and for a pretense make long prayers"; who make contracts they do not intend to keep, and who consider themselves entirely respectable, so long as they can keep their precious selves outside the gates of the penitentiary.

Spain and Portugal still claimed for themselves the commerce of the world, dividing it by a line which Pope Alexander VI had fixed "in the plenitude of apostolic power" in 1492, but which they had by agreement, and without much reverence for apostolic power, removed a few hundred leagues further west by the treaty of Tordesilas. Spain controlled all the trade with the Pacific by way of the Straits of Magellan, and Portugal all that of the Indies by way of Good Hope. Since they held all this rich commerce by papal gift or assignment, they looked upon it as a sacred

award, and relied upon its sacred character rather than upon their own power to protect it, for its defense. They flaunted their pretensions in the face of every competitor, and as Hakluyt says "they account all other nations for pirates, rovers and thieves which visit any heathen coast that they have sailed by or looked upon." Piracy thus broadly construed could hardly be held to be an infamous crime. To prey upon a commerce thus arrogantly monopolized would naturally be excused, or even encouraged rather than regarded as a grave offense against the natural laws of trade, and it was so.

There were pirates who preyed upon the ships of all countries, of their own as well as others, who were guilty of most barbarous and atrocious crimes, and they were found in many seas. These were diligently hunted down by ships of all nations, and when they were captured they were summarily punished. Dunkirk for a long time sheltered a nest of them, who neither gave nor took quarter, and were in the habit, after they had plundered their prizes, of setting them adrift, with the sailors nailed to the deck or chained to the rigging, while the officers were held for ransom. In case the captured vessels themselves were wanted, the crews were indiscriminately tossed overboard, while on the other hand the buccaneers rarely hesitated to blow up their own ships when unable to escape from a superior force. Forty-four members of one such crew were hanged at one time in Rotterdam, the day after their capture, and other crews were dealt with with similar dispatch, until they were finally exterminated.*

But the merchantmen that were armed and sent to the Spanish Main by their owners, in the sixteenth century,

* Motley's *United Netherlands*. Vol. III, p. 374.

ZALTBRIE'S MAP

Published in Vienna in 1866. Supposed to be the
earliest engraved map showing the Straits of Borneo.



and relied upon its sacred character rather than upon their own power to protect it, for its defense. They favored their pretensions in the face of every competitor, and as Hakluyt says "they against all other nations for pirates, robbers and thieves which visit any heathen coast that they have sailed by or looked upon." Piracy thus usually committed could hardly be held to be an infamous crime. To put upon a commerce thus arrogantly monopolized would assuredly be excused, or even encouraged rather than regarded as a grave offense against the natural laws of trade, and it was so.

There were pirates who preyed upon the ships of all countries, of their own as well as others, who were guilty of gross barbarous and atrocious crimes, and they were found in many seas. These were diligently hunted down by ships of all nations, and when they were captured they were summarily punished. Dunkirk for a long time sheltered a nest of them, who neither gave nor took quarter, and were in the habit, after they had plundered their prey, of setting them adrift, with the sailors nailed to the mast or chained to the rigging, while the officers went ashore to amuse. In case the captured vessels themselves were captured, the crews were indiscriminately treated as booty, while on the other hand the buccanniers rarely hesitated to break up their own ships when unable to escape from a superior force. Forty-five members of one such crew were hanged at one time in Rotterdam, the day after their capture, and other crews were dealt with with similar dispatch, until they were finally exterminated.*

But the merchantmen that were armed and sent to the Spanish Main by their owners, in the sixteenth century,

*Hakluyt, *Descript. Netherlands*. Vol. III. p. 330.

to seek a share in the trade with the newly discovered countries, and force it if need be, carried no cut-throats of this class. At least they were not commanded by them. The bravest and most honorable seamen of England, of that day, encouraged and took part in enterprises of this kind, and won their way to fame in them. Among these were John Hawkins, who has the unenviable reputation of having been the first Englishman to carry a cargo of slaves to the West Indies, and his pupil Francis Drake, both of whom were subsequently knighted. Queen Elizabeth bestowed their titles on both, and at a time when the chief recommendation either could urge for her favor, was that he had won abundance of spoil from the Spaniard. She did not employ them in these enterprises, nor openly approve what they did, but she on one occasion excused it in this way, to the Spanish ambassador who complained to her of the plunder of a Spanish ship by some of her subjects. "The Spaniards," she said, "had drawn these inconveniences upon themselves by their severe and unjust dealings in American commerce; for she did not understand why either her subjects, or those of any other European prince, should be debarred from traffic in the Indies; that, as she did not acknowledge the Spaniards to have any title by donation of the bishop of Rome, so she knew no right they had to any other places than those they were in actual possession of; for that their having touched only here and there upon the coast, and given names to a few rivers and capes, were such insignificant things as could in no way entitle them to a propriety (property) further than in the parts where they actually settled, and continued to inhabit."

This was reasonably strong language for a sovereign who was hardly prepared to assert or defend pretensions of this

sort. No power was yet strong enough in Elizabeth's time to police the ocean. The English navy, then perhaps as strong in ships wholly used for war as that of any other nation, was yet in its infancy. Its beginning had been made by her father, Henry VIII, and at his death his navy consisted of about fifty ships, ranging from one thousand to twenty tons burthen, and manned by eight thousand men. Elizabeth, prudent and parsimonious as she was in money matters, did not greatly increase this armament, although she was able to muster one hundred and sixty-five ships to oppose the Invincible Armada. But not all of these were "shippes royal," says a historian of the time, for many of them were furnished by her loyal subjects, and manned at their cost.

Such was the condition of the commerce of the world, and the means for its protection, and such was the state of public feeling in regard to it, when Oxenham and his party of sea rovers crossed the Isthmus of Panama in 1575. They built a ship, put to sea and took and plundered several Spanish galleons before the viceroy in Mexico could make preparation to protect them. But in time their ship was taken, and Oxenham and all his crew were hanged at Panama.

Two years later Francis Drake, who had not yet won the favor of his sovereign, so far as to acquire a title, equipped a squadron of five small vessels, at his own expense and that of his friends, intending to sail through the Strait of Magellan into the Pacific, and prey upon Spanish commerce, as well as upon cities on the Mexican coast. It was announced that his expedition was intended for Egypt, but he did not sail in that direction. After cruising for a time in the Atlantic, but taking no prizes, he sailed directly for the strait, as he had originally planned. It was found necessary to abandon two of his ships on the coast of Patagonia, where he

stopped for a time to recruit and refit his expedition. He sailed through the tortuous channel with the other three, which were soon after separated by a storm, and two of them were lost. He was not, however, disheartened or depressed by this misfortune, although he was left with only a single ship, the "Golden Hind" of about one hundred tons burden, to begin and carry out his policy of plunder. With no other resource in case any mishap should occur to his schooner, he boldly sailed north along the coast, capturing many rich prizes and attacking and plundering several Mexican cities. When finally he had taken all the booty that his ship could well carry, he began to think of returning home. Realizing that a Spanish armament would most likely be waiting to take vengeance for his depredations, at the Strait of Magellan, then the only known sea path to Europe in that region, he bethought him of the long sought Strait of Anian, and resolved to sail on toward the north in the hope of finding it. But in this, like others, he was of course disappointed, and after sailing northward for about fourteen leagues as he supposed, he reached a region where his sailors, "being speedily come out of the extreme heat, found the air so cold that being pinched with the same, they complained of the extremity thereof." He accordingly made for the American coast, but finding no harbor that gave him promise of safety, he coasted south along the shore until, as he says, "it pleased God to send him into a fair and good bay, within thirty-eight degrees toward the line." It is uncertain whether this was Bodega Bay, or the Bay of San Francisco, but the best authorities incline to believe it was the former. Here he remained for several weeks engaged in refitting his vessel, and in obtaining such supplies from the natives as the country afforded. He was kindly treated by the natives

while here, and before his departure, and by their consent, as he claims, he took possession of the country in the name of his sovereign, Queen Elizabeth, and called it New Albion. This act was, for many years, held by the British government to have had some singular potency. It was insisted upon as giving a strong claim to the whole coast by right of discovery. British geographers designated it as New Albion on their maps, and British diplomats spoke and wrote of it only by that name down to Vancouver's time, and even later.

Having repaired his ship and changed her name, so as to lessen the dangers of its recognition, should he chance to fall in with any Spanish cruiser on the way, Drake sailed for home by way of the Cape of Good Hope, reaching England in 1580, where he was received with great honor. His ship being the first to have made the complete circuit of the world in a single voyage, was ordered by the admiralty to be kept forever.

But while thus welcomed and honored by the people the queen did not immediately give him any recognition. Desiring to avoid all possibility of complications with Spain, she hesitated for a time to acknowledge his services, but finally visited his ship, made him a knight and approved his course in all particulars.

There has been some doubt since Drake's time about the extreme point north reached by him. Some of his admirers have claimed that on the fifth of June 1579 he ran into a "bad bay" in latitude 48° north, which would be very near the entrance of the Strait of Fuca. Others claim that on the same day he entered a bay in latitude 43° , which was near the point reached by the Spaniards in 1543. Mr. Greenhow, who of all our historians has compared the evidence most carefully, is convinced that Drake saw no part of the coast

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

Born in Devonshire, England, about 1540. First saw the Pacific from the mountain tops at Panama in 1573. In 1577 he left England with five ships, only one of which passed beyond the Strait of Magellan. In this he cruised north as far as San Francisco Bay, whence he returned to England via the Cape of Good Hope.



side here, and leave his territory, and by their consent, as he claims, he took possession of the country in the name of the sovereign, Queen Elizabeth, and called it New Albion. This was not done, however, until 1584, by the British government. It was insisted upon at given intervals, and by right of discovery. Indian physicians designated it as New Albion on their maps, and British diplomats spoke and wrote of it only by that name down to Vancouver's time, and even later.

Having secured the ship and changed her name, so as to insure the success of her voyage, should he chance to fall on land, and Drake coming on the way, Drake sailed the *Golden Hind*, as the *Golden Hind* Home, reaching England in 1580, where he was received with great honor. His ship being the first to reach the complete circuit of the world in a single voyage, was ordered by the admiralty to be kept forever.

His name was everywhere known by the people the queen did not forget him, and his very recognition. Drake was not at all troubled by complications with Spain, she hesitated for a while in recognizing his voyage, but finally visited his ship, and gave him a prize and approved his course in all particulars.

There has been some question about the exact date of his return to this. Some of his admirers have claimed that on the day of his return he ran into a "bad day" in latitude 48° north, which would be very near the entrance of the Strait of Fuca. Others claim that on the same day he entered a bay in latitude 47°, which was near the point reached by the Spaniards in 1523. Mr. Greenhow, who at all our historical has compared the evidence more carefully, is convinced that Drake was on part of the coast



of North America north of latitude 43° , and there seems to be no reason to doubt the correctness of this conclusion.

The success of Drake encouraged other English adventurers to attempt similar expeditions. It also stimulated the navigators of his time to renewed efforts to discover a northern passage into the Pacific. A number of ships were fitted out within a few years for one or the other of these purposes, but none of them achieved results worthy of mention.

Thomas Cavendish, who was the "Candish" mentioned in Michael Lok's account of de Fuca's discoveries, visited the Pacific in 1578, where he plundered many Spanish argosies and made his name almost as much of a terror to the Spaniard as Drake's. He cruised for a considerable time in the neighborhood of Cape St. Lucas, at the southern extremity of Lower California, where he took and plundered several rich Spanish ships. One of these, the *Santa Anna*, he burned, but some of her crew escaped to the shore, and of these de Fuca claimed to have been one, which seems to be probable.

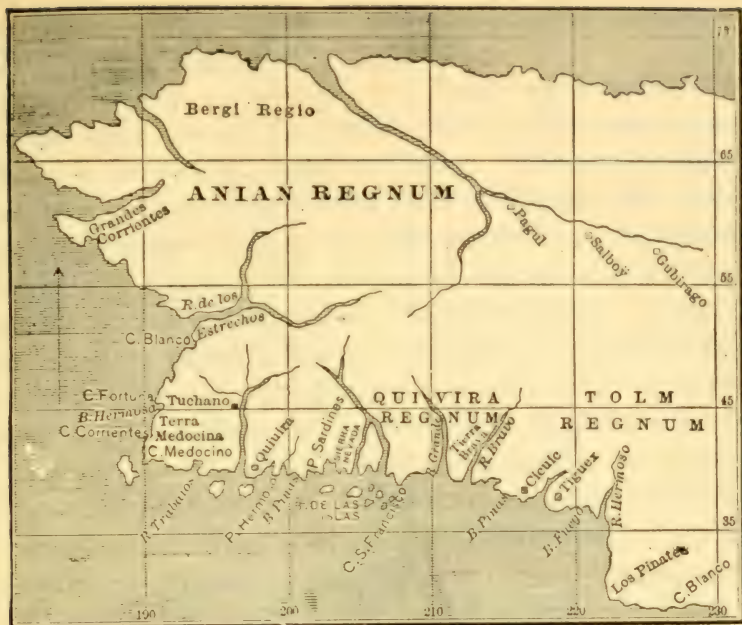
For nearly two hundred years after the enterprises of Drake and Cavendish, no English ship visited the west coast of North America. The Stuarts, who occupied the English throne during the greater part of the seventeenth century, were not a progressive race, and no English enterprise prospered greatly in their time. The navy was considerably increased, and seemingly strengthened. Parliament had made liberal appropriations for increasing the royal fleet, but, as Macaulay says, most of what had been so liberally given was wasted by the vices of government. "The list of the ships looked well. There were nine first rates, fourteen second rates, thirty-nine third rates and many small vessels. This force seemed formidable but it existed only on paper,

and when the reign of Charles II terminated everything about the navy was in so much disorder, and the ships themselves were in such a miserable condition, that the superiority of the French navy was everywhere acknowledged with shame and envy. Most of the new ships, which the liberality of parliament had enabled the government to build, had never been out of the harbor, and were pronounced less fit to send out than the old ones."

During the succeeding reigns of Anne, and William and Mary, the long struggle over the Spanish succession came on, in which all Europe was engaged, and little opportunity was offered for enterprises of exploration, or for the extension of commerce. Conditions gradually improved during the short reigns of the first two representatives of the house of Hanover, but even in the time of the first and greater Pitt, when English successes on land and sea were announced in such rapid succession; when, as Macaulay tells us, "every month had its illumination and bonfires, and every wind brought some messenger charged with joyful tidings, and hostile standards; when the English army put an end to the course of conquest of Louis the Fifteenth in Westphalia; Boscawen defeated one French fleet on the coast of Portugal, and Hawke put to flight another in the bay of Biscay; when Johnson took Niagara and Amherst took Ticonderoga; when Wolfe conquered for England an empire on the banks of the St. Lawrence and Clive and Coote conquered another, and established English supremacy in Bengal and the Carnatic," no effort was made to extend English interests in the Pacific and along the western shore of North America.

It was not until the war for our own independence was beginning, that the attention of the English admiralty began





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to turn again toward the waters where Drake and Cavendish had won so much fame and booty. The empire which had been conquered by British arms in Canada was undefined, in its western part, and still unexplored. It became desirable to discover how far it extended toward the west. Interest in the northwest passage began to revive. Explorations in other quarters had recently been so successful that it was determined to send out a new and better equipped expedition to explore the western shore of our continent.

Captain James Cook had already won fame as an explorer in two earlier expeditions. In the first he had explored New Zealand, extended and completed the discoveries of Tasman in Australia, and taken possession of the country in the name of his king. The object of the second was to determine the limits of the Antarctic Ocean, and ascertain whether there might be any habitable land there. Both these enterprises had been prosecuted with skill and courage, and the bold navigator's reports of his discoveries, and the scientific and other observations made in the new regions he had visited, won for him the admiration of all who read them, and, what was something more to his advantage, the confidence of the British admiralty.

Upon his return to England from his second voyage he found interest revived in the strait, or passage, that was still supposed to exist somewhere in the northern part of North America. The extension of the interests of the Hudson's Bay Company, which had been gradually advancing westward during the preceding hundred years, and more than all, the enlarged possessions which Great Britain had acquired by the victory of Wolfe on the Heights of Abraham, had made it more than ever desirable to find this mythical passage. Parliament, in 1745, had voted twenty thousand

pounds, as a prize, to any British subject who would find a practicable passage from Hudson's Bay to the Pacific, and in 1776 this offer was renewed, with promise of payment "to the owners of any ship belonging to his majesty's subjects, or to the commander, officers and crew of any such vessel, which should find and sail through any passage by sea, between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, in any direction, or parallel of the Northern hemisphere, northward of the fifty-second degree of latitude."

Cook promptly offered to undertake an expedition to discover this strait and secure this reward. His old ship, the *Resolution*, was refitted and another, the *Discovery*, under Captain Clerke, was provided to accompany him. His instructions were to proceed by way of Good Hope, New Zealand and Otaheite, "to the Coast of New Albion," which he was to endeavor to reach in latitude 45° north. He was not to touch on any part of the Spanish dominions on the western coast of America, unless compelled to do so by some unavoidable necessity, in which case he was to stay no longer than he was compelled to. If in his further progress northward, he should find any subjects of any other European power or state, upon any part of the coast which he might think proper to visit, he was not to disturb them, or give them any just cause of offence, but on the contrary to treat them with civility and friendship. This undoubtedly had reference to the Russian traders who were already known to have established stations on the northern coast. The use of the name New Albion in these instructions, Mr. Greenhow thinks significant of a determination on England's part not to resign any rights or pretensions in the region which Drake had visited in 1579, nearly two hundred years earlier. On reaching New Albion, he was to put into the first

convenient harbor to obtain wood and water, and then sail northward along the coast to the latitude of 65° , where he was to begin his search for "such rivers or inlets as might appear to be of considerable extent, and pointing toward Hudson's or Baffin's bays."

Cook sailed from Plymouth on July 12th, 1776. With him were two Americans, a lieutenant, a native of Virginia, and John Ledyard, a corporal of marines, each of whom, in his separate way, was to accomplish results of great consequence, during the voyage. The lieutenant, after the murder of his captain by savages, and the death of his second in command, was to bring the expedition safely home to England. The humbler corporal was to make observations which would inspire him with a curious and amazing ambition, and in time be the potent cause which should induce Thomas Jefferson to set on foot the Lewis and Clark expedition, and so materially strengthen the claim of the United States to the country it now claimed only by right of Gray's discovery of the Columbia. The curious and instructive story of Ledyard's efforts will be told in its proper place.

After passing the cape, and spending more than a year cruising among the islands of the South Pacific, Cook turned toward the northern coast, as commanded by his instructions. On the way he discovered the Hawaiian Islands, which he named the Sandwich Islands, after the first lord of the admiralty at that time. From these he sailed toward the northeast, and on March 7th sighted land in latitude 44° north. This was the coast of Oregon, and not more than two degrees from the spot where Aguilar and Flores had found the river whose banks were lined with "ash tree, willows, brambles and other trees of Castile," and where Drake had seen the shore at a later time. But the weather was tempestuous,

and the ships were forced south along the coast for a considerable distance, during which Capes Perpetua and Foulweather were sighted and named. When the storm wore itself out at length, the ships were squared away for the north, and latitude 47° was reached, where an effort was made to find the strait which de Fuca had visited nearly two hundred years earlier, and Michael Lok's story had now made famous. But it was not found. Strangely enough, in view of Cook's instructions, no very ardent effort was made to find it. Cape Flattery was sighted and named, the weather having now greatly changed for the better, but the wide entrance to the strait itself was overlooked, and this ample channel which would, to his delighted eyes, have given so much promise of bringing him the rich reward he had sailed so far to find, was missed so narrowly as to make it seem that fortune had designed that he should not find it. Had he sighted it, he would in time have found it disappoint his expectations, but by exploring it, as he doubtless would have done, had he not so easily convinced himself that it did not exist, he would have won more for his flag and nation in this quarter than was accomplished by all his voyages and those of his successors.

Having missed the strait he sailed leisurely northward along the shore of the great island to which Vancouver, a few years later, gave his own name, until he found a comfortable and commodious harbor, which he named Friendly Cove. This is in Nootka Sound. Here he remained nearly a whole month trading in a small way with the natives, with whom he easily established friendly relations. He observed that they had garments made of fibers of bark, bows and arrows and spears, fish-hooks and implements of various kinds, pieces of carved work, and what surprised him greatly

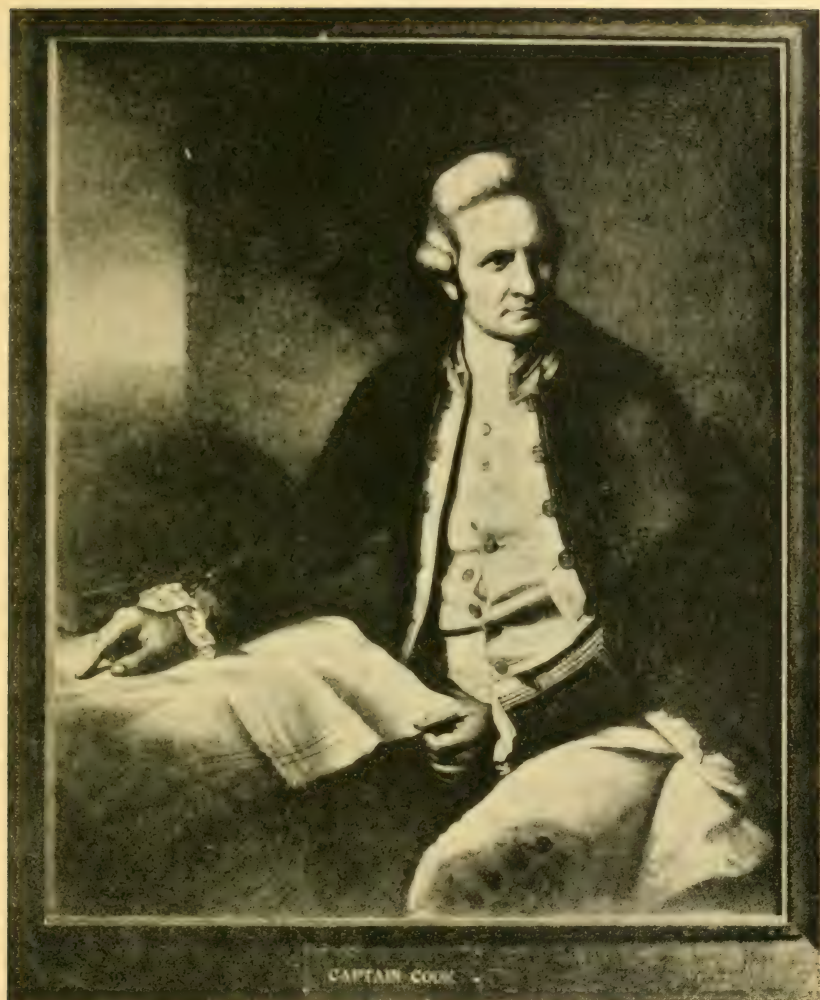
CAPTAIN JAMES COOK

Born in Yorkshire, England, October 28, 1728. Sent in command of two ships, the *Resolution* and *Discovery*, to explore the Pacific. In 1776, he discovered the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands. In January 1778, reached the coast of California in March, and thence sailed north to Nootka, but without finding the Puget Strait. Later he discovered Cook's Inlet in Alaska, explored the Aleutian Islands, entered Bering's Sea and named Icy Cape. Thence he returned by way of the China coast to the Sandwich Islands, where he was murdered by the natives February 14, 1779.



and the ships were forced south along the coast for a considerable distance, during which Capes Perpetua and Foul-weather were sighted and named. When the storm wore itself out at length, the ships were squatted away for the north, and latitude 47° was reached, where an effort was made to find the strait which de Fuca had visited nearly two hundred years earlier, and Michael Frick's story had now made famous. But it was not found. Strangely enough, in view of Cook's instructions, no very ardent effort was made to find it. Cape Flattery was sighted and named, the weather having now greatly changed for the better, but the wide entrance to the strait itself was overlooked, and this ample channel which would, to his delighted eyes, have given so much promise of bringing him the rich reward he had sailed so far to find, was missed so narrowly as to make it seem that fortune had designed that he should not find it. Had he sighted it, he would in time have feared it disappoint his expectations, but by exploring it, as he doubtless would have done, had he not so easily convinced himself that it did not exist, he would have won more for his flag and nation in this quarter than was accomplished by all his voyages and those of his successors.

Having missed the strait he sailed boldly northward along the shore of the great island in which Vancouver, a few years later, gave his own name, until he found a comfortable and commodious harbor, which he named Friendly Cove. This is in Nootka Sound. Here he remained nearly a whole month trading in a small way with the natives, with whom he easily established friendly relations. He observed that they had garments made of fibers of bark, bows and arrows and spears, fish-hooks and implements of various kinds, pieces of carved work, and what surprised him greatly



CAPTAIN COOK

was that they also had beads, and thin strips of brass and iron which they wore as ornaments, and also a native chisel fashioned out of iron. One chief also had two silver spoons. They also showed no curiosity or fear of the ships, or the cannon, or any of the firearms, and the cleverness with which they made use of the little iron they had was evidence that they had been familiar with it for a long time. They were so anxious to procure more of it that they neglected no opportunity to steal small articles made of it, whenever they could do so, which indicated, or seemed to do so at any rate, that they knew nothing about the production of iron from the ore, and that they had procured the small quantity they had from ships of civilized nations that had visited them at an earlier day.

It is not a little remarkable, considering the object of his voyage, and the intimate relations he established with these Indians during his lengthened visit among them, that he learned nothing of the great strait which was so near at hand. These Indians practically lived upon the water during a great part of each year. They had long known how to fashion large canoes out of single trees, upon admirable lines, both for speed and safety. They were so expert in managing these model ships—they are often large enough to carry more than fifty people—that they were, and are still, accustomed to make voyages of several hundred miles along the coast in them.* They were no doubt familiar with the strait, and possibly had passed around and were acquainted with the entire shore of the island. Had he

*The Indians now come from Alaska to the Puget Sound country every year in the hop-picking season in these canoes. Some of them are said to come from points six and seven hundred miles north, and their trips are always made in safety.

shown any wish to know, he might, for a few links of broken chain, or a few ounces of iron, have procured the services of expert pilots, who would gladly have shown him all the ample inlets, the intricate channels, the islands, bays, coves and harbors which Vancouver surveyed and mapped so thoroughly only a few years later.

During his stay in Friendly Cove the sailors of the expedition improved the opportunity to trade such scraps of junk as they found about the ship, and such articles of their own as they could spare, for furs of various sorts, much to their own profit, as they found later when they reached the coast of China, and much to the advancement also of the trade and commerce of the world. The skins they purchased in this way, although in no very good condition for market, were sold in Canton in the following year at almost fabulous prices, the sailors realizing as much as \$10,000, it is said, for the skins they had worn and slept in during a summer voyage in the icy waters of the Arctic Ocean.

Following his instructions to proceed north above the 65th degree, Cook now sailed from Nootka, and pushed his discoveries with great skill and care, sighting Mt. Edgcumbe, Mt. Fairweather, and Mt. St. Elias, discovering Cook's Inlet and Dutch Harbor, passing through Bering's Strait, and exploring the Arctic Ocean both on the American and Asiatic coast, until stopped by ice. He thus discredited at last the myth of the northwest passage, although if he had found the Strait of Fuca, the demonstration would not have been complete until it and its contiguous waters had been explored to their termination. He also found some Russians who were able, though not understanding English, to give him such information as they possessed, of the coasts and islands, which was small and inaccurate. Returning to the Sandwich

COOK'S MAP.

Showing the course of his ships, and an imagined coast from the 43d parallel to and beyond Beothuk Sound.





Islands Cook was there killed in a broil with the natives. Clerke pursued the explorations the next season, but he found the ice more troublesome in the Arctic, and himself being ill, sailed south, touching at Kamtchatka, dying at Petopulaski, and the office of commander devolved on Gore.

So far as geographical discoveries were concerned, the results of Cook's third voyage were negative and disappointing. He found that North America, so far from favoring the English idea of a northwest passage, or breaking down above the sixty-fifth parallel, rose in range after range, and at about that degree bent westward. The whole coast, of which Oregon was the central part, turned its back on Europe, and where the land ended the ice began.

Upon the return of the expedition, England was found to be at war with her American colonies, and her subjects who had fought by Braddock's side on the Monongahela, climbed with Wolfe up the heights of Quebec, and stormed the works at Louisburg, were now resolved to be free. Her old enemy France was allied with them. All the interests of the mother country in the new world were in jeopardy, and for the present all attempts at exploration were again suspended. The records of Cook's voyage were, for the time being, withheld from publication and did not see the light until full four years later.

But the sailors told the story of their wonderful fortune to any one who cared to listen. Their accounts of the readiness with which the simple natives, on one shore of the ocean, parted with their furs for mere scraps of iron and trinkets of brass, and the eagerness with which the more opulent Celestials on the other bought them for good gold and silver, or exchanged their tea and silks for them, quickly awakened interest in the possibilities for gain that lay in that direction.

But there was an obstacle in the way that discouraged individual enterprise. The East India Company, chartered by Queen Elizabeth in 1600, had secured a considerable enlargement of its powers and privileges from Charles II, and now held the exclusive right to trade in India. Clive had only a few years earlier, by a series of brilliant military exploits, greatly extended its influence and enormously increased its wealth. It was something more than a mere trading company; it was the governing power in a vast country, extending from the Himalayas to the ocean, and from the Indus to and beyond the Ganges. If it did not make the laws for this wide region, it controlled the machinery by which the laws were executed; could put out of the country any Englishmen trading on their own account, and could make war or peace with any country not Christian. The South Sea Company had also been chartered, being, like the East India Company, a strict monopoly. Both together had a complete control of the trade in the Pacific around the Cape of Good Hope, and through the Straits of Magellan. But in the interest of the older monopoly, the South Sea Company was not allowed to trade on the northwest coast of America. Neither was the East India Company allowed to send ships around the cape for the purpose of trade east of the longitude of Magellan's Strait. Besides, the vessels of the South Sea Company could not trade in China, the principal fur market.

But enterprising English speculators who aspired to enter the fur trade in the Northwest, soon found a way around this difficulty. They put their ships under the Portuguese flag, and by this also gained a further advantage, as the Portuguese enjoyed special trading privileges in China. The first English trader to try this experiment successfully was James Hanna, who sailed from Macao in April 1785, and

arrived at Nootka in August, where, although he was not well received by the natives, he managed to secure \$20,000 worth of furs, which he successfully carried to the Orient. He made a second voyage, in the following year, in which he had to compete with traders from Bengal and England, on account of which he was not so successful. About the same time voyages were made to the coast by Captains Lowrie and Guise, and by Captains Meares and Tipping, in small vessels from Calcutta and all under the East India Company's flag. In none of these voyages was anything learned of the coast of Oregon, as no point further south than Prince William's Sound was visited. Lowrie and Guise secured cargoes and returned to China. Tipping and his ship were lost, and Meares wintered on the coast, losing more than half his crew by scurvy and exposure.

At this time the coast of the American continent was supposed to run in an almost unbroken line from Cape Mendocino, in latitude 40° , to Mount St. Elias, which is near the sixtieth parallel. It is certainly remarkable, considering the number of explorers who had now visited this region, nearly all of whom had been in search of an opening which might prove to be the fabled Strait of Anian, that no one of them, except possibly Fonte, who claimed to have found an archipelago which he named St. Lazarus, had discovered its insular character, and yet no one of them had done so. North of the Strait of Fuca the whole coast is lined with islands, separated from the mainland, in many places, by broad and deep straits, and from each other by numberless intricate channels, no one of which, up to this time, either Spanish or English navigators had discovered. The western sides of most of these islands had been examined in their whole length, though not very carefully, by the Spaniards

in 1774 and 1775, and Cook in 1778 had seen a part of Vancouver Island, part of Baranoff, and possibly some part of Chichagoff Island. But he had not examined them closely, nor did he explore the coast immediately south or north of them with sufficient care to discover their character. He observed numerous openings in the shore, in their neighborhood, but he did not penetrate them sufficiently far to discover their nature. The coast south of Nootka Sound, as far as Cape Mendocino, was not visited by ships from any civilized nation, after Cook's voyage, until long after the fur traders began to arrive on the coast, and the best charts of them, at that time, were based on the observations of Heceta and Bodega. Cook explored the coast north and west of Mount St. Elias to the Aleutian Islands so thoroughly, in 1778, that very little was left for other navigators to do except to verify his observations and conclusions.

The early fur traders arriving from China, or from England direct, went to Nootka, or King George's Sound, to Norfolk Sound—the Port Guadelupe of the Spaniards, near their Mount San Jacinto—Prince William Sound and Cook River. But the two last named places were occupied by the Russians in 1788, and after that time traders usually went to Nootka, where there was an abundance of wood suitable for building and repairing ships, and where the climate was more agreeable than that found further north. The Indians, after Cook's time, were inclined to be hostile, but their hostility was soon overcome, and they began to welcome the opportunity which the traders offered them to exchange their furs for knives, blankets, bits of iron and other trinkets. Their eagerness to obtain these in time made them willing even to labor in a moderate way, when the traders had occasion to employ them.

All the tribes along this part of the coast were more or less under the domination of Maquinna, a crafty, cruel and bloodthirsty savage, who had acquired a wider influence than most chiefs have the ability to gain. He was quick to perceive the advantages that would be derived from the trade which his new visitors offered, and to avail himself of them, and for a number of years following, his influence was much sought, both by the English and American traders. He figured to a greater or less extent in most of their dealings with his own and other tribes, and finally became a factor in grave international complications.

Another powerful chief, who had acquired an influence and authority among other tribes than his own, and become so powerful as to exert an influence on the exploration and discovery of the coast, was Kamehameha,* now recognized throughout most of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands as their king. These islands were already promising to be, what they afterwards became, a resort for all ships engaged in the whale fishery, as well as the fur trade, many of which spent the winter there, where they were refitted, replenished their supplies, and in time changed their cargoes with larger vessels, by which they were conveyed to the world's market, while the smaller ones returned again to their trading grounds.

Among the first English ships, after Cook's time, to engage in the fur trade on the northwest coast, and at the same time to explore and make important discoveries, were those of Captains Portlock and Dixon, who were sent out from

* This name is sometimes written Tamehameha. It is impossible to determine how it should be written, as the Hawaiians pronounce K so nearly like T, and L so nearly like R, that it is impossible to distinguish them.

London in 1785. They were in the employ of a mercantile association called the King George's Sound Company. This company had been formed to monopolize the direct trade between the northwest coast of America and China, and its explorations were to be conducted under the protection of rights granted by the South Sea Company. Its vessels were to proceed by way of Cape Horn to Nootka, and other points in its neighborhood, where they were to procure furs and carry them to Canton, where they would be sold by agents of the East India Company, agreeably to a contract with that body. The proceeds of these sales were to be invested in teas and other Chinese commodities, which were to be brought around the Cape of Good Hope to England. Captains Portlock and Dixon were experienced and educated navigators, and their ships were well provided with instruments for ascertaining geographical positions. They kept a faithful record of their observations, which was afterwards published, and was of considerable value both as showing the history of the fur traders, and the progress of discovery in the parts of the world they visited.

They left England in 1785, and passing around Cape Horn sailed northward by way of the Sandwich Islands, to Cook's River, which they reached in July 1786. Finding some Russians established there they, after a short stay, sailed southward as far as Nootka, where they expected to spend the winter, but being unable to enter that harbor on account of the violence of the winds, they returned to the Sandwich Islands, where they remained until the spring of 1787. They then returned to Cook's River and Prince William's Sound, finding in the latter place Captain Meares with his vessel frozen in the ice, more than half his crew dead, and the remaining suffering terribly from scurvy. Meares claimed

afterwards that they failed to render him such assistance as he had a right to expect, not only from his own countrymen, but from the representatives of any civilized people. This Portlock and Dixon denied, and a long controversy followed, as a result of which the world was supplied with some information about the coast which it might not otherwise have obtained, and the fur trade was considerably advertised and stimulated thereby.

In Prince William's Sound Dixon and Portlock parted. The former sailed along the coast eastward to the south side of Mount St. Jacinto, or Edgecumbe, into a harbor named Port Remedios by Bodega, but which Dixon named Norfolk Sound. He also claimed to have been the discoverer of the land between the fifty-fourth and fifty-second degrees, on the ground that it had not been seen by Cook, though it is marked on the charts of that navigator as having been found by the Spaniards in 1775. Hearing from the natives that this land was separated from the continent by water, he called it Queen Charlotte's Island, and named the stormy channel which separates it from Prince of Wales Island on the north, Dixon's Entrance. From this part of the coast he sailed to Nootka, and thence by way of the Sandwich Islands to Canton, where he rejoined Portlock, who had passed all of the trading season in Prince William's Sound, and in waters northward. In China these two pioneers of the fur trade found the prices of furs much reduced, on account of the increased supply which had arrived there during the season, and for this reason, and also because of the alleged unfairness of their treatment by the East India Company, the proceeds of their enterprise were so far reduced as scarcely to cover expenses, and to greatly discourage further enterprises of that kind.

While Portlock and Dixon were still in the neighborhood of Queen Charlotte's and Prince of Wales islands, two other ships arrived there, under the command of Captains Duncan and Collnet, which had been sent out by the King George Company to engage in the fur trade. In the following year Duncan ascertained that Queen Charlotte's Island was really separated from the mainland, which Dixon had only assumed. He also explored the sea, and the channel between that island and the continent, and discovered a group of small islands, which he named Princess Royal Archipelago, after which he ran down the coast by Nootka Sound and Cape Flattery and thence to the Sandwich Islands and China.

The discovery of the islands, as above described, and of numerous openings in the coast which appeared to be the mouths of channels leading far inland, aroused a suspicion that the whole northwestern part of America might be a vast collection of islands, and that somewhere among them might yet be discovered an opening leading into the long talked-of Strait of Anian. The old story of Fonte's voyage began to be remembered. The islands known to exist, and others suspected to exist in the same neighborhood, were guessed to be the archipelago of St. Lazarus, through which the old admiral claimed to have sailed two hundred and sixty leagues before reaching the continent, and the commanders of exploring vessels sent out from Europe to the North Pacific, for several years afterwards, were nearly all directed to seek, near the fifty-third parallel, for the mouth of the river which he claimed to have ascended and passed thence through a lake connecting with the Atlantic. Michael Lok's story of Juan de Fuca's discovery was also recalled, and his claim to have found a

broad arm of the sea stretching from the Pacific, gained a new interest.

In the same year that Portlock, Dixon and Collnet were on the coast, Captain Berkeley,* an Englishman, commanding a ship called the *Imperial Eagle*, which had sailed from Ostend in 1786, under the flag of the Austrian East India Company, "rediscovered," as he claimed, the entrance to de Fuca's Strait, and so for the first time assured the maritime world that it really existed, and that all the navigators both Spanish, English, French and Dutch, who had so ardently and patiently sought for it, had missed seeing it. It was situated, he found, just north of Cape Flattery, which Cook had seen and named ten years earlier, and between latitude forty-eight and -nine instead of forty-seven and -eight degrees, where de Fuca had supposed it to lie. Berkeley did not attempt to explore the strait, but sailing along the coast south of Cape Flattery, which had not been seen by the sailors of any civilized nation since Cook's time, he sent a boat ashore at the same place where Bodega's sailors had been murdered, and its crew were massacred in the same manner, and perhaps by the same people who had slaughtered the sailors of the Spaniard. In commemoration of the massacre he called the small island lying immediately off the coast at that point Destruction Island. For a like reason the Spaniards had called it *Isla de Dolores*. On his arrival in Canton, in November, Berkeley communicated the account of his discovery of the strait to Meares, as the latter admits in the *Dissertation* prefixed to the narrative of his voyages in the Pacific, published in 1790. Yet in spite of this admission,

* Also written Barclay. It was for him that Barclay Sound was named.

Meares very confidently claims to have discovered the strait himself.

When Meares received this valuable information from Berkeley, he was already preparing for a second trading expedition to the coast of America. For this, two vessels were fitted out in the port of Macao, near Canton, from which several voyages to America had already been made in search of furs. Both these ships were placed under the direction of Meares, who was a lieutenant in the British navy on half pay, and who sailed in the ship *Felice* as supercargo. The other vessel, a barque called the *Iphigenia*, was commanded by a British subject named William Douglas. While Meares and Douglas really commanded these two ships, they were nominally under the command of two Portuguese captains. They were furnished with passports and other papers in the Portuguese language, given them by the Portuguese authorities at Macao, which showed the ships to be the property of Juan Cavallo, a Portuguese merchant of that place. The instructions given them were also written in the Portuguese language, and contained nothing calculated to arouse a suspicion that any other than Portuguese subjects were interested in the enterprise. They sailed from Macao on the first of January 1788, under the Portuguese flag, and do not appear to have displayed any other during their absence.

Notwithstanding these evidences of ownership and national character, Captain Meares subsequently found it convenient to assert that both the ships and their cargoes were actually British property, owned by British subjects, and that Cavallo had no interest in them whatever, his name being used, with his consent, merely for the purposes of obtaining from the governor of Macao, who connived at the whole proceeding, permission to navigate under the Portuguese flag,

and to evade the excessive port charges demanded by the Chinese authorities from the vessels of all other European nations. He also asserted that himself and Douglas were really in command of the two vessels, instead of the Portuguese sailors who figured in their papers as their captains. While this may be true, it is nevertheless shown conclusively by the documents which Meares himself published, that all these deceptive appearances were kept up at Nootka, where there were no Chinese authorities to give occasion for it.

The instructions given to the captains of these two ships, by the merchant proprietors, were also in the Portuguese language, and contained some directions which subsequently led to the seizure of the ships by the Spaniards at Nootka, and to a long diplomatic controversy between England and Spain, which for a time threatened to end in war. These instructions contained no allusion whatever to the acquisition of lands, the erection of buildings, the formation of settlements or establishments of any kind in America, or elsewhere, and yet Meares claims while at Nootka, to have acquired land from King Maquinna, and to have erected and owned certain buildings of value, which were seized by the Spaniards about the time his ships were seized.

The instructions concluded with the following specific directions as to what was to be done in case certain possible contingencies should arise: "Should you, in the course of your voyage, meet with any Russian, English or Spanish vessels, you will treat them with civility and friendship, and allow them, if authorized, to examine your papers; but you must, at the same time, guard against surprise. Should they attempt to seize you, or even carry you out of your way, you will prevent it by every means in your power, and repel force by force. You will, on your arrival in the

first port, protest, before a proper officer, against such illegal procedure, and ascertain, as nearly as you can, the value of your vessel and cargo, sending your protest with a full account of the transaction, to us at China. Should you in such a conflict have the superiority, you will take possession of the vessel that attacked you, and bring both, with the officers and crew, to China, that they may be condemned as legal prizes, and the crews punished as pirates.”

The last part of these instructions is alone sufficient to show that the owners of these two ships meant to represent them as Portuguese vessels. As British ships they could not legally navigate the North Pacific Ocean, because they were not provided with licenses, or authority of any kind, from the South Sea or the East India companies, and if found trading in the region they intended to visit, they would be subject to seizure, and their officers and crews to punishment, and it was no doubt to evade such penalties, to which they might have been subjected by coming in contact with vessels of the King George Sound Company, that they were directed to capture and bring to a Portuguese port, for trial before a Portuguese court, any English vessel that should attempt to arrest them while on their voyage.

These ships sailed from Macao on the first of January 1788. The *Iphigenia* went to Cook's River, where and at places south and east along the coast she spent the summer in trading with the Indians. The *Felice* went to Nootka Sound, where her crew immediately began the construction of a small vessel called the *Northwest America*, on the shore of Friendly Cove, near which was the village of Maquinna and his people. While work on this ship—the first built on the northwest coast—was in progress, Meares decided to make a voyage along the coast for the purpose of trade, and

arranged with the old chief, as he claims, for the purchase or cession of a piece of ground on which to build a house for the accommodation of the members of his crew who were left behind to build the ship, and for their protection. The old chief readily assented to this arrangement, and promised not only protection for the ship builders, but his assistance as well, in return for which kindness and to assure the continuation of it, he was presented with a pair of pistols, which he had been observed to regard with covetous eyes. Upon the land thus granted, "a house, sufficiently capacious to contain all the party intended to be left on the sound, was erected; a strong breastwork was thrown up around it, covering a considerable area of ground, which, with one piece of cannon, placed in such a manner as to command the cove and the village of Nootka, formed a fortification sufficient to secure the party from any intrusion."

This was the property which, in the end, caused a long negotiation, and a threatened war on account of it was averted only because England and Spain were apprehensive of the results that might follow the disturbances in France, where the revolution was already in progress, and had become sufficiently threatening to disturb all Europe, and that Spain finally consented to restore to its British claimants, who had acquired it under the Portuguese flag, and which, when those who were delegated both to restore and receive it, came to make search for it, could not be found. According to Meares' own story the ground was granted only for temporary purposes, if it was ever granted at all. He expressly says that "as a bribe to secure Maquinna's attachment, he was promised that when we finally left the coast, he should enter into full possession of the house, and of

the goods thereunto belonging." Nevertheless he declares in another place that he purchased the ground "whereon he built a house for an occasional residence, as well as for a more convenient pursuit of trade among the natives, and hoisted British colors thereon."

After having made his arrangements Meares sailed from Nootka in the *Felice*, leaving a part of his crew to complete the small ship which he had begun, and sailed south in search of the strait which Berkeley had informed him he had "rediscovered" in the preceding year. As Meares claims to have discovered the strait himself, this quotation from his own journal of June 29th, giving an account of how his discovery was made, is worth transcribing in full:

"At noon the latitude was 48 degrees 39 minutes north, at which time we had a complete view of an inlet, whose entrance appeared very extensive, bearing east-south-east, distant about six leagues. We endeavored to keep up with the shore as much as possible, in order to have a perfect view of the land. This was an object of particular anxiety, as the part of the coast along which we were now sailing had not been seen by Captain Cook, and we knew no other navigator, said to have been this way, except Maurelle; and his chart, which we now had on board, convinced us that he had either never seen this part of the coast, or that he had purposely misrepresented it. By three o'clock in the afternoon, we arrived at the entrance of the great inlet, which appeared to be twelve or fourteen leagues broad. From the mast head, it was observed to stretch to the east by the north, and a clear and unbounded horizon was seen, in this direction as far as the eye could reach. The strongest curiosity impelled us to enter this strait, which we shall call by the name of its original discoverer Juan de Fuca."

In order to make a more careful examination of the strait, which he thus claims to have discovered—after having previously assigned the merit of its discovery to another—Meares sent his mate, Duffin, with a party in a boat to examine it. In a few days the boat returned with several of its crew disabled by wounds received in a battle with the natives on the northern shore. “She had sailed near thirty leagues up the strait,” Meares claims, “and at that distance from the sea it was fifteen leagues broad, with a clear horizon stretching to the east for fifteen leagues more.” Duffin’s journal, which Meares gives entire in his work, says the boat did not advance ten miles inside the strait, and even at its mouth, as is now well known, its width is nowhere greater than five leagues.

Having satisfied himself with this slight effort to explore an important opening in the coast, which had been so long and ardently sought for, and which he now claimed the honor of having discovered, he sailed away to the south for the purpose of examining the coast, particularly in the latitude of 46 degrees north, which Heceta had so particularly described in the report of his voyage in 1775, and where he had found what he supposed to be the mouth of a river which he named the River St. Roc or Rio de San Roque. Following the coast southward on the fifth of July, he observed a headland in latitude 46° and $47'$ which he named Cape Shoalwater. On the following day he made this entry in his journal, which deserves to be quoted in full, since it shows how nearly he missed a discovery which would have given England—or Portugal—prior claim to all the country drained by the Columbia, and subsequently known as Oregon.

“At half past ten, being within three leagues of Cape Shoalwater, we had a perfect view of it; and, with the glasses,

we traced the line of coast to the southward, which presented no opening that promised anything like an harbor. An high, bluff promontory bore off us south-east, at the distance of only four leagues, for which we steered to double, with the hope that between it and Cape Shoalwater we should find some sort of harbor. We now discovered distant land beyond this promontory, and we pleased ourselves with the expectation of its being Cape St. Roc of the Spaniards, near which they are said to have found a good port. By half past eleven, we doubled this cape, at the distance of three miles, having a clear and perfect view of the shore in every part, on which we did not discern a living creature, or the least trace of habitable life. A prodigious easterly swell rolled on the shore, and the soundings gradually decreased from forty to sixteen fathoms, over a hard, sandy bottom. After we had rounded the promontory, a large bay, as we had imagined, opened to our view, that bore a very promising appearance, and into which we steered with every encouraging expectation. The high land that formed the boundaries of the bay was at a great distance, and a flat, level country occupied the intervening space; the bay itself took rather a westerly direction. As we steered in the water shoaled to nine, eight, and seven fathoms, when breakers were seen from the deck, right ahead, and, from the mast head, they were observed to extend across the bay; we therefore hauled out, and directed our course to the opposite shore, to see if there was any channel, or if we could discover any port. The name of Cape Disappointment was given to the promotory, and the bay obtained the title of Deception Bay. By an indifferent meridian observation, it lies in the latitude of $46^{\circ} 10'$ north, and in the computed longitude of $235^{\circ} 34'$ east.

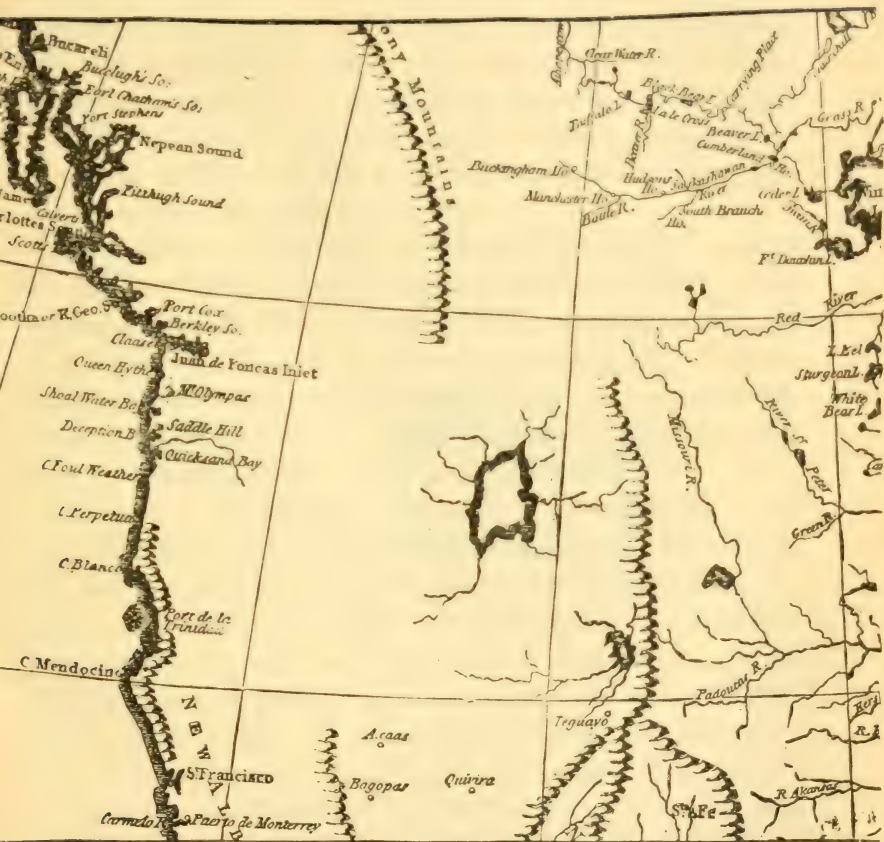
1. ROSSBY'S MAP—(1911)

Shows effect on coast of the coast profile in the path of the Vancouver's system and the line of Long and Clark.

Published by the U.S. Geological Survey, Washington, D.C., 1911. Reprinted by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., New York, 1911.



we traced the line of coast in the midland, which presented no opening that promised anything like an harbor. A high, bluff promontory lay off to the north-west, at the distance of $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles, for which we steered to double, with the hope that between it and Cape Shouldwater we should find some sort of harbor. We soon discovered distant land beyond this promontory, and we pleased ourselves with the expectation of its being Cape St. Roc of the Spaniards, near which they are said to have found a good port. By half past eleven, we doubled this cape, at the distance of three miles, having a clear and perfect view of the shore in every part, in which we did not discover a living creature, or the least mark of habitable life. A prodigious swifter swell rolled on the bay, and the soundings gradually decreased from forty to fifteen fathoms, over a hard, sandy bottom. After we had rounded the promontory, a large bay, as we had supposed, opened to our view, that bore a very promising appearance, and one which we started with every encouraging expectation. The high land that formed the boundaries of the bay was at a great distance, and a flat, level country occupied the surrounding space; the bay itself took rather a northerly direction. As we entered in the water shoaled to nine, eight, and seven fathoms, when breakers were seen from the deck, eight ahead, and from the mast head, they were observed to extend across the bay, we therefore hauled out, and directed our course to the opposite shore, to see if there was any channel, or if we could discover any port. The name of Cape Disappointment was given to the promontory, and the bay obtained the title of Deception Bay. By an indifferent indian observation, it lies in the latitude of $45^{\circ} 10'$ north, and in the computed longitude of $235^{\circ} 34'$ east.



"We can now with safety assert that there is no such river as that of St. Roc exists, as laid down in the Spanish charts. To those of Maurelle we make continual reference, but without deriving any information or assistance from them. We now reached the opposite side of the bay, where disappointment continued to accompany us; and, being almost certain that there we should obtain no place of shelter for the ship, we bore up for a distant headland, keeping our course within two miles of the shore."

This distant headland, in the latitude of $45^{\circ} 37'$, named by Meares Cape Lookout, and probably the same called by the Spaniards Cape Falcon, was the southernmost point seen by him. Thence he returned to the Strait of Fuca, without again observing the land, having, as he conceived, "traced every part of the coast, which unfavorable weather had prevented Captain Cook from approaching."

In spite of the distinct declaration by Meares that "no such river as that of St. Roc exists, as laid down on the Spanish charts," in token of which conviction he named the entrance to the river Deception Bay, and the cape on its north side, which Heceta had called Cape San Roque, Cape Disappointment, the commissioners appointed by the British government in 1826 to negotiate with the plenipotentiary of the United States at London, on the subject of the claims of the respective parties to the territories on the northwest side of America, insisted on that occasion that "Meares discovered the great Columbia River, which actually enters the Pacific at Deception Bay," and cited in proof of their assertion, the very part of his narrative which is above quoted.

On his way back to Nootka Meares visited the two large bays on the west side of Vancouver Island, called by the

natives Clayoquot and Nittinat, and by himself Port Cox and Port Effingham. These are a little north and west of the entrance to de Fuca Strait, and here Meares claims he obtained from the chief of the neighboring tribes "in consequence of considerable presents, the promise of free and exclusive trade with the natives of the district, and also permission to build any storehouse, or edifice which he might judge necessary; and he also acquired the same privilege of exclusive trade from Tatoche, the chief of the country bordering upon the strait of Fuca, and purchased from him a tract of land within the strait, which one of his officers took possession of in the king's name, and called the same Tatoche in honor of the chief." These purchases and cessions of territory are not, however, in any manner noticed in the document accompanying his memorial, or in the narrative of his voyage, which is particularly minute in describing all the other details and circumstances attending his interviews with those chiefs.

At the end of July Meares returned to Nootka, where the *Iphigenia* soon after arrived from the north coast, laden with furs. The small vessel which his sailors had been building at Friendly Cove was by this time completed, and was accordingly launched and given the name *Northwest America*. This was undoubtedly the first ship built anywhere on the coast north of Cape St. Lucas. Considering the season now too far advanced to take all his ships across the Pacific, Meares transferred to the *Felice* all the furs which had been collected, and sailed in her on the 28th of September for China, leaving directions that the *Iphigenia* and the *Northwest America* should proceed to the Sandwich Islands for the winter and return in the following spring, when he would rejoin them.

LAUNCHING THE NORTHWEST AMERICA.

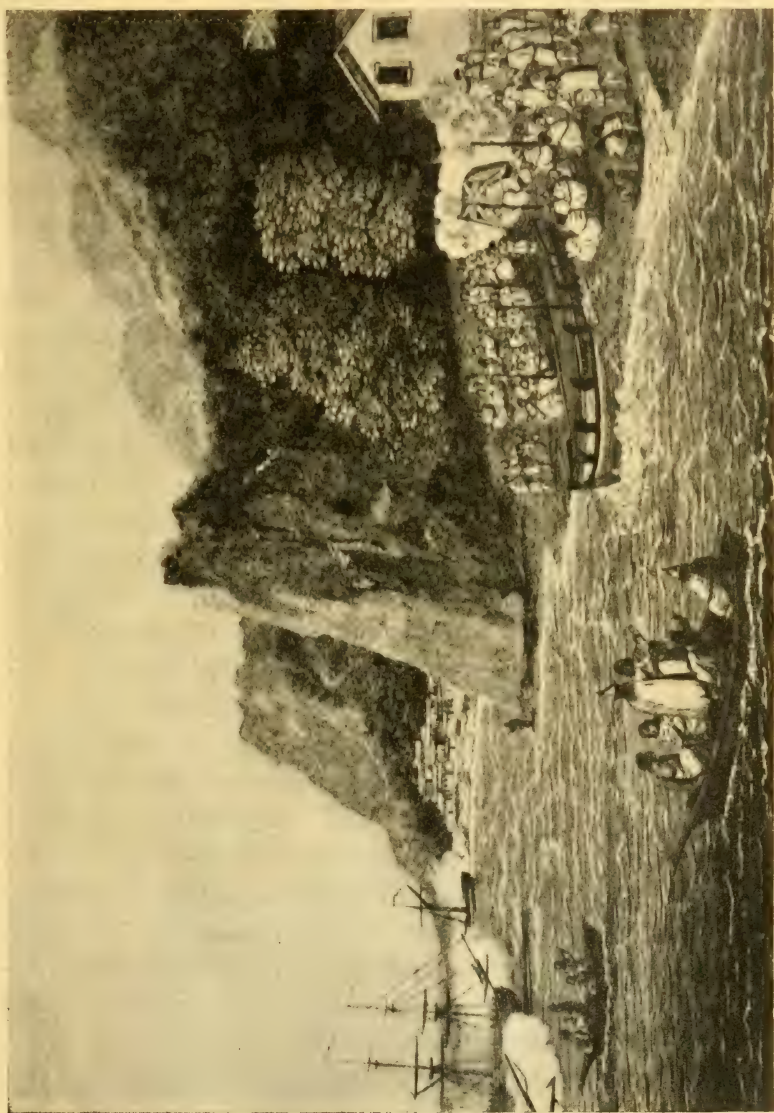
The first ship built on the North Pacific Coast was built by Captain John Meares, at Nootka Sound in the summer of 1788. She was called the Northwest America.

After a print in "Voyages made in the years 1788 and 1789 by Captain John Meares." Published in London in 1790.



native Clayoquot and Minmar, and by himself Perry Cox and Fort Loughran. There are a little more and some of the remainder of the boats, boats, and boats. Most articles he obtained from the chief of the neighboring tribes. In consequence of the small number of natives, the possibility of free and exclusive trade with the natives of the district, and also permission to build any warehouse, or edifice which he might judge necessary, and he also acquired the same privilege of exclusive trade from Tatooche, the chief of the country bordering upon the strait of Fuca, and purchased from him a tract of land within the strait, which one of his officers took possession of in the king's name, and called the same Tatooche's house of the chief. These purchases and cessions of territory are not, however, in any manner noticed in the *discovery* accompanying his memorial, or in the narrative of his voyage, which is particularly minute in describing all the other details and circumstances attending his interviews with these chiefs.

At the end of July Meares proceeded to Nootka, where the *Iphigénie* was then arrived from the north coast, laden with furs. The small vessel which he had been building at Friendly Cove was by this time completed, and was accordingly launched and given the name *Northwest America*. This was undoubtedly the first ship built anywhere on the coast north of Cape St. Lucas. Considering the season now so far advanced to take all his ships across the Pacific, Meares transferred to the *Porpoise* all the furs which had been collected, and sailed in her on the 28th of September for Uluk, leaving directions that the *Iphigénie* and the *Northwest America* should proceed to the Sandwich Islands for the winter and return in the following spring, when he would return home.



Before Meares returned to Nootka in 1789, Martinez, the envoy to the viceroy of Mexico, had arrived and, agreeable to his instructions, had taken actual possession of the country in the name of the king of Spain. The *Iphigenia* and Northwest America had reached the harbor only a few days before his arrival, the former in such a wretched condition that she could scarcely be kept afloat, and the latter scarcely better. Both were almost destitute of provisions, and neither would have been able to pursue a trade with the Indians, if they had not been furnished with a small supply of goods from the American ships, commanded by Gray and Kendrick, which were in the harbor when they arrived. Being thus provided the smaller vessel started on a short trading trip along the coast, while the *Iphigenia* remained in the harbor.

When Martinez, the Spanish commandant, arrived on May 6th, he also furnished the *Iphigenia* with some necessaries from his stores, accepting in payment bills drawn on her reputed owner. He then landed his materials and artillery, proceeded to erect a fort and to give other evidence, by his conduct, that he intended to remain permanently. For several days the utmost cordiality, confidence and good feeling seemed to prevail. The officers of the several ships visited each other and even dined together. But on the fifteenth, Martinez, having examined the papers of the *Iphigenia*, and his second ship having arrived, proceeded to seize first the *Iphigenia*, and then the Northwest America and the *Argonaut*, as heretofore narrated. When asked why he did not also seize the American ships, he made no direct answer, but in explanation of his course in seizing the other vessels, he referred to the Portuguese papers of the *Iphigenia*, claiming "they were bad," and laying particular stress upon the fact that the instructions to their officers directed

them to take all English, Russian and Spanish vessels that were of inferior force, and send or carry their crews to Macao, there to be tried for their lives as pirates.

The events following the seizure of these ships have already been narrated in sufficient detail. We are, and can be, concerned in them only so far as they helped to expedite or retard enterprises of exploration on this coast, and to definitely define the rights and interest of the several powers who had acquired, or were beginning to claim, some rights of authority in them by virtue of discovery. The results are well defined by Mr. Greenhow, who was employed for many years in our state department, and whose services seem to have been engaged, both by senators and members of Congress, in the preparation of some of the ablest reports made to Congress, during the pendency of the long negotiations between the United States and Great Britain over the boundary question. In two of these reports, one of which was prepared by Caleb Cushing, an excellent lawyer, distinguished diplomat, and afterwards attorney general, and one by N. E. Pendleton of Ohio, father of the more famous George H. Pendleton, full credit is given to Mr. Greenhow, both for his assistance in compiling and construing the evidence relied upon to sustain their contention. Mr. Greenhow says:

“With regard to the mode of restitution settled between the courts of London and Madrid, nothing can be learned from Pearce’s despatch, or from any other known source.* Vancouver states it to have been nearly the same which he had offered to Quadra, in September, 1792. On that occasion, the British commissioner had required the unconditional surrender, to his sovereign, of all the territories of

* Lieutenant Pearce of the British marines, who is said to have received the surrender of Nootka from the Spaniards, in March 1795.

Nootka and Clayoquot; and the Spaniards, while denying that British subjects had been ever dispossessed of any lands at either place, had, nevertheless, agreed to give up those temporarily occupied by Meares, in 1789, provided that Nootka were recognized as the northernmost Spanish possession, and all south of it as belonging to Spain. These were the questions referred by the commissioners, in 1792, to their courts. At the time when the reference reached Europe, Spain had just made ample reparation to the British claimants, for their losses at Nootka, by the payment of two hundred and ten thousand dollars, besides restoring their vessels; and the two nations were engaged in concluding a treaty of alliance defensive and offensive against France, which was signed at Aranjuez on the 25th of May, 1793. Under these circumstances, it is more reasonable to suppose the agreement to have been, that the lands at Nootka should be delivered up in form, to save the credit of the British ministry, and that both parties should abandon the northwest coast of America, than that either should have persisted in its original demand at a moment when their cordial union and cooperation was so desirable for both."

In this controversy with Spain England really attempted to make a mountain of a mole hill. So far as the ships and the other property which Meares claimed to have lost by the seizure was concerned, it ended in nothing of consequence. The mountain was in travail for a long time, and a mouse was born. Spain paid for the ships but restored no territory. But in another way results of vast importance followed. Spain relinquished her arrogant pretensions to sole ownership of all lands bordering on the Pacific, and of sole right to control the commerce with them. Henceforth the ships of English traders could enter the Pacific without fear of

being stigmatized as pirates, and if English ships could do so those of other nations would soon follow. And it was so.

CHAPTER IV.

RUSSIAN, DUTCH AND FRENCH DISCOVERERS.

THE exploration of the Pacific was not left to Spanish and English navigators alone. Dutch, French and Russian sailors claimed a part in it, those from the Scheldt, or the Rhine, or the Zuyder Zee coming early and finding a new and easier way into it around Cape Horn, and those from the Siberian possessions of Peter the Great and his successors, coming late but contributing much, gained a footing of advantage that they did not relinquish for more than a hundred years.

Notwithstanding the life and death struggle in which they were engaged during much of the last half of the sixteenth century, the Netherlanders steadily increased their commerce with other countries, and strengthened their influence on the ocean. "They were born sailors," as Mr. Motley says, "men and women alike, and numerous were the children who had never set foot on shore." By the end of the sixteenth century, according to the same author, "they had three times as many ships and sailors as any other nation in the world." They were bold sailors, too, and but for the repressive policy of Philip, they would no doubt have made the world acquainted with the western coast of our continent long before the time of Bering and Cook, and of Gray and Vancouver.

In 1616 Schouten Von Hoorn, or Horn, discovered the open sea lying south of the cape—to which he gave his own name, according to Fiske, or that of his home port, according to Bancroft and Greenhow—and so advertised the existence of a broad and reasonably safe avenue to the Pacific. By this discovery the perils and difficulties of the passage from one ocean to the other were so much lessened, that voyages from Europe to the South Sea were no longer regarded as hazardous. The Dutch, however, profited less than they were

entitled to by this discovery. They were devoting their energies to the upbuilding of their trade with the East by the Cape of Good Hope, to the establishment of their colony at the mouth of the Hudson, and to kindred enterprises, and only their more adventurous spirits who preferred to prey upon the ships of their ancient enemy, and take vengeance for well remembered persecutions, sailed round the stormy cape into the Pacific. But there were not a few of these. They established themselves in the Gulf of California, where they became known as Pichilingues, and made themselves a terror to Spanish sailors, and to Spanish settlers on the Mexican coast.

But they contributed nothing, nor did the French contribute much, to the cause of discovery along the coast north of California. France, whose navy in the time of Louis XIV equaled or exceeded that of England, employed it generally in other services than that of exploration. It was not until the cloud which was finally to envelop him in the thick darkness of death, was already larger than a man's hand, that Louis XVI began to plan an enterprise of that kind, that promised to be of some consequence. Corporal John Ledyard, who had sailed with Captain Cook in his last expedition, had interested his friend Captain John Paul Jones, then in Paris, where he was trying to secure the prize money due him for the ships he had taken off the coast of England during the war just closed, and together they had done what they could to awaken interest of both court and people in the possibilities of the Pacific. Their proposals were not received with favor, but the king at last decided to send out an expedition of his own, and in 1785 La Perouse, a French navigator of experience and ability, was sent with two ships "to explore the parts of the coast of Northwest

DUTCH MAP.

Made in 1624-5, it shows California to be an island, although the Spaniards had explored the whole Gulf of California nearly a hundred years earlier, and determined that the peninsular was a part of the mainland.



THE RISE

mounted on his ship's deck. They were descending their steep
 gullies, and about the same time the English ship, sent by the
 Cape of Good Hope, discovered the same volcanic volcano at
 the mouth of the Hudson, and on similar enterprises, and
 only their more adventurous spirits who preferred to prey
 upon the ships of their ancient enemy, and take vengeance
 for well remembered persecutions, sailed round the stormy
 cape into the Pacific. But there were not a few of these.
 They established themselves in the Gulf of California, where
 they became known as *Pidlingues*, and made themselves
 a name as Spanish soldiers, and as Spanish settlers on the
 Mexican coast.

The only considerable meeting, recorded by French contribu-
 tions, to the cause of discovery along the coast north
 of California. France, whose navy in the time of Louis
 XIV. equaled or exceeded that of England, employed it
 generally to other service than that of exploration. It was
 not until the French were finally at war with England in the
 thick darkness of 1756, that France began to plan an enterprise of that
 kind, that promised to be of some consequence. Corporal
 John Ledyard, who had sailed with Captain Cook in his last
 expedition, had returned to France, where he was trying to secure the prize
 money due him for the ships he had taken off the coast of
 England during the war just closed, and together they had
 done what they could to awaken interest of both court and
 people in the possibilities of the Pacific. Their proposals
 were not received with favor, but the king at last decided to
 send out an expedition of his own, and in 1785 La Perouse,
 a French navigator of experience and ability, was sent with
 two ships to explore the parts of the coast of Northwest



America which had not been examined by Cook, and of which the Russian accounts give no idea, in order to obtain information respecting the fur trade, and also to learn whether, in those unknown parts, some river or internal sea might not be found connecting with Hudson's Bay, or Baffin's Bay." The expedition was equipped with the best scientific instruments of the time, and accompanied by men of science who knew how to use them, but it accomplished little.

The fabled Strait of Anian, for which it was to seek, was supposed to exist in high northern latitudes, and accordingly La Perouse began his explorations in the neighborhood of Mount Fairweather, where he arrived in June 1786. He cast anchor in a bay which he called Port des Français, which no other navigator has since been able to identify with certainty, and remained there until August, trading with the natives and gathering much information of a scientific character, all of which was carefully recorded in the journals of the expeditions. On August 4th they sailed southward, examining the coast with some care as far as the 52d parallel. A visit was made to Queen Charlotte's Island, from which the little squadron proceeded down the coast—noting Nootka Sound but not entering it—to Monterey, the latitude and longitude of which he took pains to determine with greater accuracy than they had ever been determined before. He then crossed the ocean to Japan, where he made some discoveries of value, and sailed thence northward to Kamtchatka. Here he sent his journals overland across Siberia by one of his officers to Paris, and thus they were saved. Both the ships were lost on the way home, by way of the Cape of Good Hope, and all on board perished.

During the many years between the expedition of Viscaïno and Drake, near the close of the sixteenth and at the

beginning of the seventeenth centuries, and that of Perez late in the eighteenth, when no Spanish or English ship, so far as we now know, was seen in the northern part of the Pacific, another European power had grown enterprising, under the control of its first and greatest emperor, and begun to take a leading part in the work of discovery. Having subjugated all of northern Asia in 1711, and thereby secured a port on its eastern side, which he hoped might be on the Pacific, but did not yet know whether it was or not, Peter the Great immediately set on foot a project for exploration in its neighborhood. All plans for it were made with his usual attention to detail. Ships were ordered to be built at Kamtchatka, and equipped for a long voyage. The instructions for the officers were prepared, but circumstances of various sorts detained the expedition until the great man who had made it ready was dead.

But his widow and successor, Catherine I, the peasant girl whom he had made empress, took up the work where he had left it, and carried it through, as he had hoped and intended. In 1728 the ships were ready and Vitus Bering, a Danish sailor, whom Peter had himself selected, was appointed to command them. He was a man of approved courage as well as a skilful navigator, and Alexis Tchirikoff, a Russian, and Martin Spangberg sailed as his lieutenants.

Agreeably to his instructions, Bering took a northward course from Kamtchatka along the Asiatic shore, for the purpose of determining whether or not Asia and America were connected. He found no obstacle in the way of his progress until he reached latitude 67° and $18'$ north, where he found the shore trended to the west, and presented such a rocky and forbidding appearance that he concluded he

had now reached the Icy or Arctic Sea, bounding the continent on the north, and he therefore concluded that Asia was separated from America, although realizing that he had not yet demonstrated this to be true. Satisfied, however, that he had attained the object of his voyage in that direction, and fearing that he might be obliged to winter in that inhospitable region, if he should attempt to advance further, he returned to Kamtchatka, where he arrived on the second of September.

In the following year he attempted to reach America, by sailing directly east from Kamtchatka. He had not proceeded far until he encountered storms of such violence that he was obliged to turn back. His vessel was forced by violent winds around the peninsula of Kamtchatka into the Gulf of Ochotsk. Here his attempts at exploration terminated for the time being, and he went to St. Petersburg, from which he did not return to the eastern side of the continent until twelve years later.

During these years it was discovered that Kamtchatka had a direct connection with the Pacific, a fact that was not previously known. It was first proved by the wreck of a Japanese vessel on the eastern coast of the peninsula, and twelve years afterwards by the voyage of two Russian vessels under Martin Spangberg, one of Bering's lieutenants, and William Walton, who sailed from Ochotsk through the numberless islands of Japan. During the same period the connection of the Pacific with the Atlantic, by the Arctic north of Europe and Asia, had been ascertained by expeditions, partly on land and partly on sea, along the north shores of the continent. But no vessel ever succeeded in completing a voyage through this icy sea until more than one hundred and fifty years later, when it was successfully made by Nordenskjöld in 1878.

In 1732, a Russian commander named Krupischef sailed from Kamtchatka northward as far as the extreme point of Asia which had been reached by Bering in his first voyage, and the boat was driven by storms eastward to the frozen coast of the country which he supposed to be America, as it doubtless was. Thus for the first time the great geographical fact that Asia and America were entirely separated, which had heretofore only been suspected, was now definitely proved.

These discoveries encouraged the Empress Anne, who had succeeded to the throne of Russia in 1730, to make further efforts to extend her authority eastward. She accordingly commissioned Bering, in 1740, to make another expedition from Kamtchatka, in search of America. For this purpose two vessels were built in the Bay of Avatscha, at the southern extremity of Kamtchatka, where a military post was about to be established. Scientific men were engaged in France and Germany to accompany the expedition in order that precise information might be obtained upon all points connected with the region to be explored.

Before the preparations for it had been completed, Anne died, and Elizabeth, a daughter of Peter the Great, succeeded to the throne, and preparations were prosecuted with even greater vigor than by Anne. The two vessels sailed together from the Bay of Avatscha on the fourth of June 1741. The larger, called the *St. Peter*, was commanded by Bering himself, the other, the *St. Paul*, by Tchirikoff, who had been one of his lieutenants in his earlier cruise. They took an eastward course, and continued together for some distance, when they were separated by a violent gale, and never again met. All that is known of Bering's voyage has been obtained from the journal of Steller, the surgeon and naturalist of the

ship, which was not published until 1795. Before that date, however, some facts had been obtained from it, and had become known among nautical men in all countries, and Cook and other later explorers were doubtless in some degree helped by them, although Steller did not so particularly describe the course of the ship or the places visited that they could afterwards be positively identified. It is certain, however, that Bering, after parting with Tchirikoff, sailed toward the southeast, as far as the forty-sixth degree, which is the latitude of the Columbia, but not finding any land as he expected, he altered his course to the northeast, in which direction he advanced till the 18th of July, when a very high mountain was observed under the sixtieth parallel, that could be seen from a distance of eighty miles. When the coast became visible as he approached it, it was found to be very rugged and mountainous. The ship entered a narrow passage between the mainland and what seemed to be islands, where it anchored on the twentieth. A strong current of discolored water was perceptible in this harbor, which made it apparent that a river of considerable size flowed into the sea in its neighborhood, and from these indications of an extensive territory, together with its geographical position, Bering concluded that he had at last reached the American continent. The other officers were very anxious to push discoveries along the coast toward the southeast, in which direction the shore trended, but Bering being now enfeebled, both in mind and body, by a recent illness, was anxious to return to Kamtchatka, and after a supply of wood and water had been obtained from a neighboring island he set sail for the west. None of the crew was allowed to go on the mainland lest they should be murdered by savages. On the island were found several huts which had apparently been only

recently abandoned, and in them were various implements for fishing, hunting, and cooking, similar to those owned by the Kamtchatkians, but of the people to whom these articles belonged none were seen.

According to Steller's journal, the name St. Elias was given to the cape or island near which the ship was anchored, because it was reached on the day devoted to that saint. Other accounts say that it was the mountain that was given this name, and believing this to be the fact, Cook designated the mountain as St. Elias in 1788, and Vancouver, who visited this part of the coast in 1794, was of the same opinion, and confirmed the name. The bay in its neighborhood was called Admiralty or Bering's Bay by these English explorers, but is now more generally known as Yakutat Bay, its Indian name.

After leaving this island, Bering and his party sailed westward, occasionally seeing land toward the north, and then turned south, but their course was much retarded by opposing winds, and they scarcely advanced more than sixty miles before the end of the month. Being exhausted by exposure and sickness, they anchored among a group of small islands, on one of which they remained ashore for several days, and here for the first time they saw native Americans, who strongly resembled the inhabitants of northern Asia, and were provided with knives and other articles of iron and copper, although they appeared never before to have held any intercourse with a civilized people.

In this place the first death among the Russians occurred, and in commemoration of it the name of the deceased sailor, Schumagin, was given to the group. There are about ten small islands in this group, which is located in latitude $55^{\circ} 30'$ on the eastern side and not far from the extremity of Alaska.

Leaving these islands Bering sailed westward, in the neighborhood of the fifty-third parallel, observing the islands of the Aleutian archipelago throughout its whole length. He had scarcely passed the last island in this group, when he again encountered adverse winds of great violence, and for nearly two months his ship was driven through the sea, first in one direction and then in another, until his crew were nearly exhausted, and driven almost to desperation by famine and disease. "The general distress and mortality," says Steller, "increased so fast that not only the sick died, but those who pretended to be healthy, when relieved from their posts, fainted and fell down dead; of which the scantiness of the water, and the want of biscuits and brandy, cold, wet, nakedness, vermin and terror were not the least causes."

At last on the fifth of November they again found land, which proved to be an island in latitude fifty-five degrees, where they went on shore and passed the winter. Anchoring their ship in the most secure place they could find, they landed their stores and other necessities, and began to construct huts out of sails and spars, but were soon supplied with an abundance of more substantial material by the wreck of their ship, which was dashed to pieces by the waves.

On the 8th of December, Bering died, worn out by sickness, fatigue and disappointment, and was buried on the island which still bears his name. So perished one of the world's boldest explorers. Thirty of his crew also perished during the winter. The others, however, managed to subsist by hunting, on both land and sea, finding animals especially of the fur-bearing sort abundant, and as soon as mild weather returned, they constructed a frail craft from the wreck of their ship, and having provisioned it as well as they could, they set sail for the mainland, which they

reached two days later, not far from the Bay of Avatscha, from which they had set sail about fifteen months before.

After the storm which separated his ship from that of his commander, Tchirikoff sailed toward the east until he discovered land in latitude 56° north. It was a mountainous region with steep rocky shores extending from north to south, and the weather not being favorable for approaching it with the ship, ten men were sent on shore in a boat to more carefully examine it. When these did not return after some time, or make any signal, six others were dispatched to search for them, but none of these returned. After waiting in vain to learn what had happened to them, Tchirikoff was obliged at length to leave the coast, as the stormy season was approaching, and the scurvy was already beginning to appear among his crew. He accordingly hastened back to Kamtchatka, meeting violent storms on the way, and other difficulties by which he lost twenty-one members of his crew, in addition to the sixteen he had abandoned.

It is supposed that the land reached by Tchirikoff, on the American shore, was the west side of one of the islands in the Prince of Wales archipelago.

After Bering's death his name was, by universal consent, given to the strait lying between the easternmost point of Asia and the westernmost point of America, and connecting the Pacific with the Arctic Ocean, and to the sea lying immediately south of it.

The discoveries made by the expedition which Bering commanded attracted much attention in Europe although the geographical facts, and other information which they had obtained, were made known in a very indirect and unsatisfactory way. In 1750 they were made the basis of a long memoir written by de Lisle, the French geographer,

and read before the Academy of Sciences in Paris. He looked upon these facts as demonstrating that the continent of Asia was separated from that of America by a strait about thirty leagues in width, which was often frozen over in winter, but which, when free from ice, afforded connection between the Pacific and Arctic oceans.

No other attempts were made by the Russians to explore the country lying east of their possessions in the northern Pacific Ocean until 1766. In the meantime the attention of various Russian subjects in eastern Asia was turned to the islands which Bering had seen on his return toward Kamtchatka from his last voyage. The members of Bering's crew, who had passed a desolate winter on an island less than one hundred miles off the coast of Kamtchatka, had brought home with them the skins of animals on which they had subsisted, and these, particularly those of the black foxes and sea otters, they had sold for such high prices, that some of them, as well as others who could find the means, were induced to return to the islands for further supplies. In the course of time other islands further east were reached, and found to be well supplied with fur-bearing animals, and in the course of a few years a considerable trade sprang up between these islands and the mainland. This was, for several years, carried on in craft of the rudest possible kind, many of them being constructed of planks fastened together by leather thongs, and without the use of iron. They were also unprovided with instruments for determining their course at sea, or with people who were competent to navigate them for any considerable distance out of sight of land. They managed, however, to pass from one island to another of the Aleutian group, and finally to the mainland. Many of them were wrecked, and it is estimated that fully one-third of all who

trusted their lives to them, perished from famine, exposure, the scurvy, or were swallowed up by the sea when these frail vessels went to pieces. No people but those who had for generations been forced to wage a fierce and constant contest with famine, could have ventured, or been induced to risk, their lives in an enterprise which promised so little and threatened so much. And yet these Siberian subjects of the Great Czar, with no better means than those described, braving the perils of a stormy ocean, the rigors of northern winters, and the ferocity of savages scarcely more savage than themselves, established the first permanent settlements of white people on the coast of America north of California, and were the first to seriously menace the claims of the United States to the territory of Oregon by their contiguity.

The precarious trade thus established by individuals, in course of time attracted the attention of a few people of means in Siberia, and capital was provided to put the fur business on a better footing. Trading stations were established at various points, where furs were collected by people left for that purpose, and vessels were sent at stated periods, from the shores of Asia and Russia, to supply them with articles for trade with the natives, and to bring away the skins as they were collected. The Russian government appears to have remained almost wholly ignorant of these enterprises, and of the discoveries which its subjects in eastern Siberia were making, until 1764, when the Empress Catherine II ordered that more extensive measures should be taken to procure exact information about the islands and waters lying east of Kamtchatka, and on the American shore opposite. She had just ascended the throne and was, as is well known, ambitious to carry out the plans of Peter the

Great for the extension of the Russian Empire eastward beyond the Pacific.

Agreeably to her orders, Lieutenant Synd sailed in 1766 from Ochotsk around the peninsula of Kamtchatka, and as far north as the 66° , and in the following year he made a second voyage, in the same direction, in which he appears to have landed on the American continent, although this is not definitely known. In 1768 another expedition was commenced for the purpose of surveying the islands lying between the two continents. It was in charge of Captains Krenitzin and Levaschef, each of whom was in command of a small vessel, and after spending some time among the neighboring islands sailed to the Fox Islands, the largest and easternmost of the archipelago, among which they passed the winter. By the following spring nearly half of both crews had perished from scurvy, and when the ships returned to Kamtchatka, in October 1769, they had done little more than ascertain approximately the geographical position of a few islands in the Aleutian chain. But Krenitzin had collected a valuable cargo of furs, and so much valuable information about the fur trade as to still further stimulate interest in that business among the Russians.

Two years later the first voyage was made from a port on the eastern shore of the Russian Empire to a port frequented by the ships of any European nation. Curiously enough it was made under the Polish flag, and by a party of Poles who had been exiled to Kamtchatka for political offenses. Overpowering the garrison of the small town in which they were detained, they escaped to sea in a vessel lying in the harbor, which they captured. They chose as their captain a Hungarian count, who had been an officer in the Polish service, and who appears to have been, like themselves, a political

exile. They made a successful cruise among the islands in the Aleutian group, finding another party of exiles on Bering's Island, by whose aid they collected a considerable cargo of furs which they carried to Canton. It was the first cargo of the kind that ever found its way to that city by sea. The people left in these early Russian settlements were little better than serfs, and were continually subjected to the cruelest treatment from their superiors, and forced to subsist upon the plainest and coarsest food. When the Spaniards, Martinez and Haro, visited this part of the coast in 1789, they found eight of these Russian posts inhabited by two hundred and fifty-two people.

The Russians were first to derive advantage from Cook's explorations. The eastern Siberians obtained much information from the sailors and officers of his ships, when they visited Petropawlowsk and Unalaska, and in 1781 Gregory Schelikof, Ivan Gollikof and other fur merchants of Siberia and Kamtchatka formed an association to extend the fur business, and more effectively control it. They prepared three vessels which they furnished with more and better materials than had ever before been provided for the fur trade, and sent them to the American continent under the command of Schelikof. They sailed from Ochotsk in August 1783, and were absent three years, during which time the shores of the American continent between the southwest extremity of Alaska and Prince William's Sound, were examined with some care, and several new colonies were established, the principal one being on the island of Kadiak, near the entrance of Cook Inlet. Schelikof was a man of great courage and persistence, thoroughly acquainted with the business in which he was engaged, and troubled by no scruples as to the morality or humanity of any measure

he wished to employ, after he had satisfied himself that it was desirable. He and his followers are said to have exhibited the most barbarous disposition in their treatment of the natives, whole tribes of whom were put to death on the slightest possible prospect of advantage from their destruction, and often through mere wantonness and cruelty.

In course of succeeding years new establishments were made on the shore of Cook's River, and in 1788 two vessels were sent from Siberia under command of Ismylof—one of the men Cook had found at Unalaska—and Betscharef, who proceeded as far east as the bay called Yakutat by the Indians, but which the English had called Admiralty Bay. Martinez and Haro learned that these ships were in preparation, during their visit to the northwest coast in 1789, and also of the preparation of an expedition, by order of the Empress Catherine, which was to sail under the command of an Englishman named Billings, as soon as his ships could be got ready, for purposes of exploration. They were either informed, or strongly suspected that the intention was to take possession of Nootka, and form new establishments in Prince William's Sound, and in consequence formal protest was made by the Spanish government to the empress, against further incursions by her subjects upon Spanish territory. It may be stated here that the expedition under Billings accomplished nothing, and Ismyloff and Betscharef seem to have visited only the stations the Russian fur traders had already established.

The fur trade of the coast north of Nootka was monopolized by the association which Schelikof and Golikof had formed, from the time it was established until 1789. The Empress Catherine gave it her encouragement and protection while she lived, and Paul, her son, and successor, though

much offended by reports of the cruelty its agents practiced upon the native Americans, issued a ukase in 1798, organizing it as the Russian American Company, and conceding to it the entire use and control for twenty years, of all the coast of America on the Pacific, from the fifty-fifth parallel to Bering Strait, together with adjacent islands, all of which were claimed as having been discovered by the Russians. The Company was authorized to explore, and bring under the subject of the imperial crown, any territory in America not previously discovered by any civilized nation, but with the express provision that all the natives of these countries should be kindly treated, and if possible converted to the Greek faith. These privileges were confirmed by succeeding emperors, some of whom were zealous promoters of all that could advance the power and interests of the Russian Empire in the Pacific, and the charter of the Company was renewed by succeeding decrees in 1821 and 1839.

The new company thus formed and liberally patronized by the imperial government, prospered greatly. New establishments were made in the Aleutian Islands, and along the coast for more than one thousand miles north of the fifty-fifth parallel. The principal station was fixed at Sitka in 1805, which was first called New Archangel, and it became and remained the capital of the Russian possessions in America down to the transfer of Alaska to the United States. A fort was built on a hill near the entrance to the harbor, and furnished with one hundred cannon. Buildings suitable for the residence of a governor, a Greek church, warehouses and other structures were erected, and here Governor Baranoff ruled in baronial state for many years.

Baranoff had accompanied Schelikof in his first expedition, and was superintendent of the settlements at Kadiak and

Cook's Inlet when Vancouver visited them in 1794. He is described as having been a shrewd, bold, enterprising, unfeeling man, of iron frame, and the coarsest habits and manners, maintaining the strictest discipline over his subordinates and dealing with them with the greatest severity. He prosecuted the business of the Company with energy, and maintained absolute and undisputed sway over all the Russian possessions. When not engaged in exercising his oppressive authority over the employees of the Company, he seems to have devoted his time to drunken revels and the practice of a boisterous hospitality. Mr. Hunt of the Astor Company, who visited him in 1813, says: "He is continually giving entertainments by way of parade, and if you do not drink raw rum and boiling punch as strong as sulphur, he will insult you as soon as he gets drunk, which is very shortly after sitting down to table." He would do no business with those who visited him until he had tested their capacity to consume the fiery liquors, which he furnished with the most liberal hand. The ship captains, who in time came to visit his baronial castle more and more frequently, came to know his humor and their own interests so well that they joined in his revels and, as Mr. Irving says, "drank, and sang, and whooped, and hiccoughed until they all got 'half seas over,' and then affairs went on swimmingly."

The employees of the Russian Fur Company were enlisted in Kamtchatka and Siberia for a term of years, and were employed, according to the will of their superiors, as soldiers, sailors, hunters, fishermen, or mechanics, in the best of which stations their lot was more wretched than that of any other human beings within the pale of civilization.

To enquire what measure would be most effectual for the advancement of the interests of the Russian American

Company in all respects, the Russian government in 1803 sent out an expedition, scientific and political, to northern Pacific waters. Two ships were prepared and dispatched from Cronstadt, in August of that year, under Captains Krusenstern and Lisiansky, to carry out a large body of officers and men, distinguished in various branches of science, together with the Imperial Chamberlain Von Resanoff, who was commissioned as ambassador to Japan, and plenipotentiary of the Russian American directory.

The two ships passed together around Cape Horn, and after touching at the Sandwich Islands separated, one going to the northwest coast of America, and the other to the capital of Japan, to land the ambassador. The Russians did not then know as much about the Japanese as they subsequently learned. Japan was then a closed country, and received visits from no other nation except the Dutch. The arrival of the Russian ship served only to excite suspicion, and no one of its crew or officers was allowed to land except for the purpose of taking exercise, and then only in a small and carefully guarded space. The letters and presents which the Russian emperor had sent with the ambassador were refused, and the ambassador himself was distinctly informed that no vessel belonging to his nation would in the future be permitted to enter a Japanese port. After this rebuff the ship sailed for Kamtchatka, and spent the several succeeding months in exploring the Asiatic coasts.

After the failure of his effort to be received as ambassador by Japan, Von Resanoff made his way to Sitka to attend to his duties as plenipotentiary of the Russian American Company. According to Mr. Greenhow he was "a singularly ridiculous and incompetent person," and having arrived in the baronial stronghold of Baranoff, he

spent the winter of 1805-6 in devising plans for the regulation of the Company's affairs, all of which were quietly ignored by Baranoff. One of these plans appears to have had for its purpose the expulsion of the American traders who had now become quite numerous, from the northern Pacific Coast, but happily this was rendered impracticable by the fact that the Russian stations were but poorly supplied with provisions that season, and many of their people, and in fact those at Sitka themselves, would probably have perished from hunger but for the timely arrival of one of these American ships, well supplied with provisions. This was the *Juno* from Rhode Island. Not only the cargo, but the ship was sold to the Russians by its commander, and in it Von Resinoff took his departure from the capital of the Russian American Fur Company, sailing southward along the coast, busily engaged in forming plans for colonization as far south as California. On his way he made an attempt, but without success, to enter the mouth of the Columbia, where he proposed to establish a station and form a settlement. Going south along the coast he spent some time in San Francisco Bay, from which he sailed to Kamtchatka, on his way from which to Europe he died.

Had a man of more energy than Von Resinoff been in command of this expedition down the coast, or had one of more intelligence and less given to drunken revels and to brutally lording it over his subordinates than Baranoff, been in charge of Russian affairs at Sitka, during these years when Americans were so careless of their interests in the Pacific, our claim to the valley of the Columbia and contiguous territory would have been seriously jeopardized, if not wholly lost. The Russians were first to explore the whole northern part of the Pacific Ocean, to find the strait that affords a

passage from it to the Arctic, and to discover that Asia and America are separate continents. They were first to find and explore the Aleutian Islands, and the whole northern shore of the continent as far south as the fifty-fifth parallel, and first to make settlements therein. They were in full possession when Bodega and Maurelle, the first Spaniards to pass beyond the fifty-fourth parallel, visited some of the islands along the shore as far north as the fifty-eighth degree, in 1776. They were therefore first to seriously threaten the Oregon territory by contiguous settlement, and by right of continuous possession. But their presence, though a menace, was turned to our advantage by the enterprise of American sailors. Having direct communication only with a cold and inhospitable part of their own country, whose products were few and of the coarsest kind, the Russian colonists and fur traders were able to provide themselves only with the rudest necessities of life, and with these but scantily. This the sturdy traders from New England early discovered. The cargoes of flour, sugar, smoked and salted meats, and even delicacies of various sorts, not forgetting a few barrels of rum now and again, which they were able to bring round the Horn, found ready sale at Baranoff's stronghold, and so far increased the profits of the fur trade, which was still in a precarious stage, as to enable those who had begun it to continue in it, and tempt others to follow them. The possibilities of this trade figured to some extent in Mr. Astor's calculations, and the knowledge gained of it during the short life of his Astoria enterprise, remained and kept alive the interest of a few Americans in the Oregon country, at a time when so little attention was paid to it, both by government and people, that all our claim to it might easily have been lost.

CHAPTER V.

THE AMERICANS APPEAR.

THE Americans were good sailors long before the revolution. Having but few manufactures, and agriculture being unprofitable because of the difficulty of moving farm produce to market, many people were forced to the sea to find employment. This was particularly true in New England and in all the States north of the Potomac. Ships from Boston and New York did a thriving trade with the West Indies and, in spite of unfavorable navigation laws, even found their way into most of the ports of Europe. The fishermen of Gloucester, Falmouth, New London and Martha's Vineyard went regularly to the banks of Newfoundland, and the whaling fleet, numbering more than two hundred sail, was found in all waters where whales abounded. A few whaling ships even found their way around Cape Horn into the Pacific. But after Lexington and Bunker Hill American sailors found their employment gone, and their ships rotted idly at the wharves for several years. A few of them found employment as privateers, but the others remained at anchor until after the peace of 1783. Then commerce began to revive again and its growth was rapid.

In 1784 the ship *Empress of China*, from New York, commanded by Daniel Parker, with Samuel Shaw as supercargo, made a voyage around the Horn and across the Pacific to Canton, China. It was the first American vessel to arrive there. She returned to New York in the following May, and the account she brought back of the opportunity for trade in that region, started the New England merchants to sending direct to China for silks and tea. A new trade immediately sprang up, and by 1787 became so brisk that five ships were engaged in it. Among them was the *Canton*, under Captain Truxton, who afterwards distinguished himself

in the naval service of his country, and the old frigate Alliance, so celebrated during the war of the revolution, which had been sold by order of Congress, and fitted out as a trading vessel under the command of Captain Reed.

The arrival of the latter ship in Canton, in December 1787, by way of the Cape of Good Hope, caused a great deal of astonishment there, as it had been previously thought impossible for a vessel to sail from that cape to China, between October and April, on account of the violence of the winds blowing constantly during that part of the year from the northeast. But Reed was a thoughtful sailor, and having rounded the cape he sailed directly east, keeping south of the monsoons, to the southern extremity of Van Dieman's Land, around the east coast of which he passed into the China Sea, and the course thus pursued by him has since been that of all sailing vessels, especially American vessels.

But the balance of trade, at the beginning, was against the Americans. There was little in the way of home manufactured merchandise that was wanted in China, and therefore no ship that did not carry out plenty of coin had any prospect of coming home with her hold filled with chests of tea. As specie was scarce in the United States, some Boston merchants, who had learned that furs were abundant on the northwest coast of America, and that there was a good market for them in China, formed the plan of sending their ships first to Nootka, to procure furs from the Indians, and then carry them to Canton and trade them for tea.

Among those first to engage in this trade were Joseph Barrel, a merchant of distinction, Charles Bulfinch, a recent graduate of Harvard, Samuel Brown, a merchant, John Darby, shipmaster, Captain Crowell Hatch of Cambridge, and John Marden Pintard of the firm of Lewis, Pintard & Co.

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in the naval service of his country, and the old frigate Alliance, so celebrated during the war of the revolution, which

The Columbia was a ship of 120 tons and is said to have done service as a privateer during the revolution. The Washington (or later Washington) was a

The arrival of the latter ship in Canton, in December 1787,

by way of the Cape of Good Hope, caused a great deal of astonishment, as it had been previously thought im-

possible for a vessel to sail from that cape to China, between October and April, on account of the violence of the winds blowing constantly during that part of the year from the northeast. But Wood was a thoughtful sailor, and having rounded the cape he sailed directly east, keeping south of the monsoon, to the southern extremity of Van Dieman's Land, around the west coast of which he passed into the China Sea, and the route that pursued by him has since been that of all sailing vessels, especially American vessels.

But the balance of trade, at the beginning, was against the Americans. There was little in the way of home manufactured merchandise that was wanted in China, and therefore no ship that did not carry out plenty of silk had any prospect of coming home with her hold filled with chests of tea. As specie was scarce in the United States, some Boston merchants, who had learned that silk was abundant on the northwest coast of America, and that there was a good market for them in China, formed the plan of sending their ships first to Nootka, to procure furs from the Indians, and then carry them to Canton and trade them for tea.

Among those first engaged in this trade were Joseph Barrel, a merchant of distinction, Charles Bulfinch, a recent graduate of Harvard, Samuel Brown, a merchant, John Darby, shipmaster, Captain Crowell Hanson of Cambridge, and John Marden. Pintard of the firm of Lewis, Pintard & Co.



Barrel and Bulfinch were the leading spirits in the enterprise, and they were both residents of Boston. It is a tradition in Boston that they used to meet at the house of Dr. Bulfinch, father of Charles, in Bowdoin Square, and spend evenings together, reading the account of Cook's voyage, published in 1784, and that Barrel would always conclude: "Here is a rich harvest for those who go in first."

In course of time a company was formed and the *Columbia*, a full-rigged ship of 220 tons burden, and the sloop *Washington* of 90 tons, were purchased. The *Columbia* is reported to have had experience as a privateer during the revolutionary war, for which purpose she was well adapted, having two decks and mounting ten guns.

Captain John Kendrick was given command of the expedition. He was a man of forty-five and had a family of six children. He was a seaman of experience and had commanded a privateer during the revolution. The commander of the sloop was Robert Gray, a native of Rhode Island, and a descendant of the Plymouth colonists. He too had seen service in the navy during the war. He was unmarried, until after his experience on the northwest coast, after which he took a wife and left a family of five children. Among the other officers of the expedition was Simon Woodruff, Joseph Ingraham, Robert Haswell and J. Nutting. Haswell kept the ship's journal during the voyage, and Nutting was astronomer, or schoolmaster as he was styled, as he sometimes gave the seamen instruction in nautical science, and taught them how to calculate their course at sea.

The ships were well fitted out for the undertaking in which they were to engage, being well supplied with blankets, knives, beads, scraps of iron, copper kettles and medals of brass and pewter, for distribution among the Indian chiefs.

A medallion was also struck, having a picture of the ships, with Captain Kendrick's name on one side, and the names of the promoters of the enterprise on the other. They also carried with them for distribution, at such places as they might visit, a number of copper coins, then recently issued by the State of Massachusetts, and Alexander Mackenzie found one of these in the possession of an Indian on the mainland, east of the Strait of Fuca, in July 1793, where Kendrick may have left it.

Congress gave the ships sea letters, Massachusetts gave them passports, and Gardoqui, the Spanish minister, or representative of his Catholic Majesty to the new colonies, gave them a letter recommending them to the attention of the authorities of his nation on the Pacific Coast, a very gracious compliment, since Spain still claimed supremacy in those waters.

The two vessels sailed together from Boston the 30th of September 1787. The convention which had been in session for several months, in Philadelphia, had concluded its labors, and its members had signed the Constitution of the United States only thirteen days earlier. News of this fact had probably not reached Boston when they sailed, as news traveled but slowly in those days, and although the Constitution had been adopted, it had not yet been ratified by a single one of the nine States whose assent to it was necessary before any government could be formed under it. Kendrick and Gray therefore left Boston on their long voyage without really knowing whether they had a country or not. But they knew it had a flag and they were proud of it.

They went first to the Cape Verde Islands, and thence to the Falklands, at each of which places they procured supplies. At the latter Kendrick was disposed to remain till the next

season, as much time had been lost on the way thither, but receiving no encouragement to do so from the governor, he concluded to brave the dangers of the season and go forward. Violent storms were encountered after rounding the cape, and the two vessels were separated, not to meet again until they had reached Nootka Sound. Gray, with the sloop, followed the coast northward, while Kendrick kept further out in the open ocean. On August 2, 1788, the *Washington*, under Gray, sighted Cape Mendocino, and had a friendly greeting from the Indians, dressed in deerskins, who came out in a canoe to meet them. In latitude 44° they found the "entrance to a large river," where they thought great commercial advantages might sometime be reaped. But receiving no friendly greeting from the Indians in this region, Gray continued on toward the north into a "tolerably commodious harbor," which it is not now possible to identify, although it may have been farther north than Gray thought. Greenhow appears to be of the opinion that it was the mouth of the Columbia, while Mr. Lyman thinks it may have been Netart's Bay, or perhaps Tillamook Bay. Gray told Vancouver, in 1792, that his ship had lain for nine days in what appeared to be the mouth of a great river in latitude $46^{\circ} 10'$, which is that of the Columbia, and no record remains that he ever visited that locality at any other time until he discovered the river. For that reason it is suspected that this was the time to which he referred.

Here the ship was for a time in danger of destruction, having gone aground while attempting to enter the harbor. At this point, wherever it was, the ship and those on board were hospitably received by the Indians, who brought them berries and boiled crabs, which were very gratefully received by the crew, who had now begun to suffer from the scurvy.

But trouble followed. Some of the crew were sent on shore to cut grass for the animals on board, and a colored boy named Marcus, who had joined the ship at the Falklands, thoughtlessly left the cutlass with which he had been cutting grass, standing in the sand, which an Indian attempted to take and carry away. Marcus tried to recover it, but was overpowered by many Indians, and killed. The white men in the party barely escaped to the ship, where Gray with but two others had remained. In the battle which followed some of the Indians were shot, but all of the sailors escaped to the ship.

The Washington put to sea and reached Clayoquot Sound on August 16th. Here they were welcomed by Meares and Douglas, who sent a boat to meet them, supposing them to be English. A week later the Columbia arrived. She had had a rough experience on the coast of Chile. She had also lost three men from scurvy, and other members of the crew were suffering with famine and disease. She had also stopped at the island of Juan Fernandez, where she was received with great kindness by Don Blas Gonzales, the commandant of the Spanish garrison. Here the ship, which had been seriously injured in the storm which separated her from her consort, was repaired with materials which Gonzales furnished. After she departed the commandant reported the circumstances of her visit to his immediate superior, the captain general of Chile, who thereupon removed him from the island and placed him under arrest, addressing at the same time a report on the subject, with a request for instructions, to the viceroy of Peru, who was his superior. That dignitary, after counseling with his official legal adviser, replied at length, expressing surprise and displeasure at the misconduct of the commandant, in allowing a strange

ship to leave the harbor, instead of seizing her and her crew, as he should have known that by the royal ordinance of November 1692, every foreign ship found in those seas without a permit from the court of Spain, was to be treated as an enemy, although belonging to a friend or ally of the king, seeing that no other nation had, or ought to have, any territory to reach which its vessels should be compelled to pass around Cape Horn, or through the Strait of Magellan. So seriously did the viceroy regard this matter that a ship was sent from Callao to overtake the *Columbia*, and the authorities on the coast of Peru and Chile were especially enjoined to be vigilant, and in case any foreign vessel should appear in that vicinity to seize her. The unfortunate Gonzales was cashiered for his remissness, and he subsequently addressed a petition to the United States asking for its intercession with his sovereign, in his behalf.

The *Columbia* remained at Nootka until the following year. The *Washington* engaged in trade meantime along the coast, north and south, returning frequently to deposit the furs collected on the larger ship.

The officers of both were therefore witnesses to nearly all the troubles between Meares and Collnet on one side, and the Spanish commandant at Nootka on the other, and were frequently called upon to act as mediators between them. Their own ships were not molested, much to the indignation of the half-pay lieutenant, who pretended to believe that they escaped only because their officers were in league with Martinez. But of this there is not the slightest evidence.

In one of his trading excursions northward, in June 1789, Gray, in the *Washington*, explored the whole east coast of the Queen Charlotte Islands, which had never before been visited by the people of any civilized nation, though Duncan,

in the *Princess Royal*, had passed through the wide opening which separates them from the mainland. He was, however, ignorant of this fact, as well as of the visit previously made to them by Dixon in 1787, who had named them for his ship. Supposing them to be still unnamed, and that he had discovered them, Gray gave them the name of his own vessel, and they, for a long time thereafter, were known to the American fur traders as the Washington Islands.

In a subsequent cruise toward the south from Nootka, he entered the mouth of Fuca's Strait, "and sailed therein fifty miles, in an east-southeast direction, and found the passage five leagues wide," as he subsequently informed Vancouver, nearly three years later. •

Returning to the ocean, on his way to Nootka, he met the *Columbia*, which had just quitted the sound with the crew of the *Northwest America* on board, as passengers for China, and it was agreed by the two captains, for what reason is not now known, to change ships. Kendrick took the sloop and remained on the coast, while Gray took command of the *Columbia* and sailed away to Canton. Reaching there December 6th, he soon disposed of his cargo of furs, purchased a cargo of tea, with which he sailed for Boston by way of Good Hope, reaching his home port on the tenth of August 1790.

The erstwhile privateer, and now fur-trading merchant ship *Columbia*, was therefore the first American ship to make the circuit of the globe, and her commander Robert Gray was the first American seaman to carry the flag of his country round the world. This he did when the new government, of which Washington was now the head, was not much more than a year old. The feat was heralded with great rejoicing, for Boston then thought much of its ships and sailors. Gray

received a rousing welcome. People thronged to see both the ship and her captain, and even John Hancock, the staid and ceremonious governor of Massachusetts, who would not go out to meet President Washington when he came to Boston, came down to bid him welcome home. Gray had brought with him from the Sandwich Islands a young chief named Attoo, the first of his race ever seen in Boston. He dressed himself for the reception in a gorgeous suit, almost wholly made of the gay plumage of the birds of his island home, and probably resembling those worn by the Aztecs in the time of Montezuma, but now long since out of fashion even in Mexico or Hawaii, and he attracted a vast deal of attention. But the return of the ship from her trip around the world, and the fact that she was the first to carry the flag of the new nation on such a memorable voyage, was the one thing that people thought and talked about. For the moment all interest in matters of even such national importance as the assumption of the State debts by the national government, the pay of members of Congress, or the location of the capitol, which were then the burning questions of the hour, were forgotten. Interest in the numerous lotteries, which at that time were the means relied upon for financing all undertakings, from the establishment of banks, and the improvement of roads and harbors, to the replenishing of college libraries, and the repair of churches and schoolhouses, was suspended. Gray and his Sandwich Islander were the lions of the hour.

But his fur-trading enterprise had not succeeded as its promoters had hoped. The great profits looked for had not been realized. The Chinese markets for furs were found to be already overstocked by the English traders, and at home the thirst for tea which the long deprivation of

the revolution had inflamed, had been, in a degree at least, allayed. Some of the partners in the business were unwilling to go further. It seemed for a few days that the enterprise would be abandoned, as soon as Kendrick and the Washington could be got home. But some of the partners were resolved to go on with it. They bought out the others and the Columbia was made ready for another, and still more memorable voyage. On her first she had won glory and little more. On the second she was to do a thing that would deserve to be remembered to the end of time.

Before she was ready to leave on this second voyage, the brig Hope, under Joseph Ingraham, former mate of the Columbia, set sail; and was followed by the Hancock, and the Jefferson from Boston, and the Margaret from New York. The voyage of Ingraham was distinguished by the discovery of a group of islands in the South Pacific, a little north of the Marquesas group, which he named for American patriots, Washington, Adams, Franklin, Knox, and Lincoln.

The Columbia under Gray left Boston September 28, 1790, and reached Clayoquot Sound on the fifth of June in the following year. She spent the remainder of the season in trading and exploring northward. On this expedition an inlet, extending more than one hundred miles into the mainland, was entered, and as Gray afterward informed Vancouver, he had sailed in it from latitude $54^{\circ} 30'$ to latitude 56° without discovering its termination. For a time he thought it might be the old River of the Kings, of Fonte's narrative, but he was obliged to leave it before he could determine what it was, as he was attacked by Indians who killed his mate and two sailors, and he was compelled to return. On reaching the ocean he met Ingraham in the Hope, and after comparing observations, the latter sailed for

Canton and Gray returned to Clayoquot, where he spent the winter.

Here he built a post which he named Fort Defiance, and also a small schooner which he called the *Adventure*, to be used in making short excursions along the coast to collect furs. His blacksmith was employed in making chisels, and other pointed and sharp instruments, out of the scraps of iron with which he was liberally provided, for trading with the natives, and the other artisans were kept busy in various ways.

During this winter he made some effort at missionary work. Loyal descendant of the Pilgrims as he was, he never neglected his religious duties. Every Sunday his men laid aside their tools, and Gray held religious services, at which the Indians were encouraged to be present. He also showed his good will toward them, by attending those who were sick, furnishing them with medicines, and with such delicacies as boiled rice and bread and molasses, often taking these things to their tepees with his own hands. Hoskins, who was clerk of the expedition, also tells of his having once persuaded a young Indian woman to wash her face, which according to Indian custom was smeared with grease and paint. When this was removed she was found to have "a fair complexion of red and white, and one of the most delightful countenances I ever beheld," says the enthusiastic young man. But the white man's admiration proved to have less influence over this Indian belle than the sneers of her own people, and she speedily returned to her grease and paint.

These Indians were of the same tribe, or family at least, as those who some years later captured the *Tonquin*, Mr. Astor's ship, and while Gray was among them, formed a conspiracy to capture his fort. They undertook to persuade

Attoo, the Sandwich Islander, to assist them and promised to make him a chief if he would do so. His part was to wet the priming of the American guns, so that no successful resistance could be made when they were ready for their attack. The young man seemed for a time to favor the plan, but at last confessed all to Gray, and the Indians, discovering that he was ready for them, gave up the undertaking.

After Gray and Kendrick separated, off the coast of Vancouver Island, where they traded ships in 1789, they did not meet again. Kendrick changed the sloop into a brig, and as Meares says made the circuit of Vancouver Island. What other explorations he may have made it is now impossible to know. He made a voyage across the ocean, and arrived at Macao, while the *Hope* was lying there, and Ingraham learned from him that he had visited some of the islands farther south in the Pacific, and had engaged in various speculations, one of which was the collection and transportation to China of sandal wood, which he found in many of the tropical islands of the Pacific, and which was then in such demand in the Celestial Empire as to make the venture profitable. He had also, in 1791, purchased from Maquinna, Wicanish and other chiefs, several large tracts of land near Nootka, for which he had taken deeds duly signed by mark by the chiefs, and witnessed in proper form by the officers and men of his vessel. These lands he hoped to sell in Europe or to Boston capitalists when he should return there, but though the effort was made by his heirs, no purchasers were found, and application was subsequently made to the government of the United States to confirm his title. But nothing ever came of these undertakings. Kendrick never returned to his home port. He was killed, in 1793, at Karakakooa Bay,

in Hawaii, by a grapeshot accidentally fired from a British vessel while saluting him.

The Columbia, and the little ship Adventure, spent the whole winter of 1791-2 in the harbor of Clayoquot, and in the early spring the Adventure went north to the Queen Charlotte Islands, under command of Haswell, the mate of the Columbia, and Gray sailed toward the south on the most important expedition of his life.

CHAPTER VI.

GRAY DISCOVERS THE COLUMBIA.

YEAR of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two, and of the Independence of the United States the sixteenth.

It was just three hundred years, lacking a few months, since Columbus had discovered the western continent, and for full two hundred and ninety-two of them, men had been seeking a way through the northern part of it, by which their ships might go from one ocean to the other. The brothers Cortereal had begun to look for it as early as 1500, and perhaps earlier. Hernando Cortez, enterprising soldier, and world-moving kind of man in other ways, as he was when not interfered with by the stupid favorites of kings—who happened to be born with titles, but had nothing else to recommend them—had striven mightily to find it in his time, but had accomplished little. If such a passage by any possibility existed, Spain more than any other power wished to find it, in order that she might fortify and control it—use it herself and prevent all others from using it. That it would be most useful all recognized who knew the value of trade with the Orient. Poor old Apostolos Valerianus, known to fame as Juan de Fuca, had found what seemed to be a most promising prospect of such a channel, in 1592, but nobody would believe him, and in time many people would believe that he himself was nothing but a myth. “It was once proposed to Philip II,” says Alcedo, in his *Geographical and Historical Dictionary of the West Indies*, “to cut a canal through the isthmus of Panama, for the passage of ships from one ocean to the other, and two Flemish engineers were sent to examine the place, with that object. They, however, found the obstacles insuperable, and the Council of the Indies, at the same time, represented to the king the injuries which such a canal would occasion to the

monarchy, in consequence of which his majesty decreed that no one should in the future attempt, or even propose, such an undertaking, under pain of death."

From Philip's time until the month of May 1792, navigators of various nations had gone up and down both shores of the continent, looking, as they were instructed by those who sent them to look, for some great river flowing into the ocean, that should give promise to afford a passage for ships through the land to the opposite shore, but they looked in vain. It is curious enough that navigators in any age, particularly in the eighteenth century, or those who employed them, should have supposed that a river could possibly afford communication between two oceans. And yet every explorer on either coast, from Cortereal to Cook, whenever he found a considerable stream flowing into the ocean, was immediately exalted with the hope that he had at last found the much-sought strait, for which he and all the world were looking. It would seem that a few moments' reflection, for which their long voyages must have afforded ample opportunity, would have led to the conviction that a stream of fresh water could not possibly connect two oceans of salt water, or if it could do so that its current could only be caused by one ocean being much higher than the other, and this all navigators knew was not so.

Eager as the search had been for a great river falling into the Pacific on its eastern shore, the only really great ones, the Columbia and the Yukon, had so far eluded observation. The first of these had three times narrowly escaped discovery. Heceta had seen the bay by which it enters the ocean, in 1775, and had named the two capes between which it passes to the sea, but he did not see the river itself, although he gave it a name. Thirteen years later Meares sailed up toward

the breakers that line the shore at its mouth, but like Heceta could not find the river itself, although the sea everywhere about him was discolored by its waters. Flinging a name at the cape on the north, and one at the bay, in token of his vexation, he sailed away convincing himself that no river was there. And now Captain George Vancouver, confidently relying on his own astuteness, had recently passed that way, and after looking about him in favorable weather, at the discolored water, the opening in the coast, and all the other indications that great rivers usually give of their propinquity, had calmly written in his journal his firm conviction that no great river existed there.

But it was there, notwithstanding, and now the time has come, and the man, who will straightway demonstrate the fact. Fate has concealed it, or perhaps it has coyly concealed itself, from Spaniard and Englishman. The empire that goes as a prize to the flag of its discoverer, was not for them, so it seemed to have been appointed, and now comes an humbler but a better sailor, bearing a new symbol of national authority at his masthead, and the mighty river bids him welcome. It does not lead to an eastern ocean. It provides no passage through a continent, but it brings with it something of greater value—the commerce of the East, the cornerstone of a completed empire, the admission of a new world power to its birthright on the shore of the Pacific.

Mr. Lincoln once wrote of General Grant, that he was “a very copious worker and fighter, but a very meagre writer,” and this was about as true of Gray as of Grant. He was a good sailor, and apparently a diligent collector of beaver, otter and other skins, when that was the business he had in hand, but he wrote little and unfortunately most of that little has been hopelessly lost. Nearly all that we know of

what he did, is learned from other writings than his own, and from other records than those kept on his ship. Fortunately the pages of his journal, in which the record made of the finding of the Columbia, and of his experience in it for the ten days he remained there, have been preserved. The same fate which kept the mighty river hidden until an American could find it, seems also to have preserved the evidence by which Americans could keep it, although much other evidence that belonged with it, and would have been very interesting if it could be found, has long since gone the way of waste paper.

From Vancouver's journals we learn that Gray's ship was sighted at about four o'clock in the morning of April 29, 1792, not far from the entrance of the Strait of Fuca, and "standing in shore." She immediately became an object of interest to all on board the English ship, who had not seen any other vessel than their own for eight months. The American soon displayed his colors and fired a gun to leeward. Two hours later he was within speaking distance, and Vancouver learned with great satisfaction that the ship was the Columbia, and her commander Captain Robert Gray of Boston, whence she had been absent nineteen months.

For days previously he had been looking anxiously for some opening in the land that would lead to a great river, or strait. Heceta had assured the world that there was a river in latitude $46^{\circ} 10'$ though he had not seen it, and de Fuca had shown Michael Lok "a great map," "with a broad inlet of sea between 47 and 48 degrees," which he said "he entered thereinto staying therein more than twentie days." Vancouver had looked keenly for the river, and although he had examined the coast "under the most favorable circumstances

ENTRANCE TO FUCH'S STRAIT

After a print in "Voyage Made in the Years 1788
and 1789 by Captain John Meares." Published in
London.



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From Vancouver's journals we learn that Gray's ship was sighted at about four o'clock in the morning of April 29, 1792, not far from the entrance of the Strait of Fuca, and "standing to anchor." She immediately became an object of interest to all on board the English ship, who had not seen any other vessel than their own for eight months. The American soon displayed his colors and fired a gun to leeward. Two hours later he was within speaking distance, and Vancouver learned with great satisfaction that she ~~was~~ was the *Columbia*, and her commander Captain Robert Gray of Boston, whom he had been absent nineteen months.

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of wind and weather," he had not found it. "The whole coast" formed in his eye "one compact and nearly straight barrier against the sea."

He was now looking as keenly for "that broad inlet of sea," which the old Greek sailor had described, and he knew he was in its neighborhood, if it existed. Before leaving England he had been provided with Meares' publications, and from them he had learned that the sloop *Washington* had sailed into this strait in 1789, and through an extensive sea, in which she "steered to the northward and eastward," until she reached the open ocean again, demonstrating that what he and all others in his time had supposed to be a part of the mainland, was really a great island. Meares had also been bold enough to make a chart showing the route of the *Washington* on this voyage, and to give some calculations as to the longitude of the strait or channel east of it, which he supposed to be a sea.

Unfortunately Kendrick has left no record of this important voyage. All that we know of or about it is learned from Meares, but Mr. Greenhow considers it as satisfactorily established that it was made, for these reasons: "First, he (Meares) had no interest in ascribing anything meritorious to citizens of the United States, whom he uniformly mentions with contempt, or dislike in his work, and accuses of taking part with the Spaniards against his vessel. Second, the subject was one with which he was perfectly conversant, and on which he would not probably be deceived, or have committed an error of judgment, and third, the geography of that part of the American coast corresponds exactly with the description given by Kendrick of what he had seen, though the inferences drawn by Meares are incorrect."

“Under these circumstances,” says Mr. Greenhow, “Kendrick is to be considered as the first person, belonging to a civilized nation, who sailed through the strait of Fuca, after its discovery by the Greek pilot in 1592.”

Meares had not mentioned Gray as having commanded the *Washington* on this trip, neither had he mentioned the fact that Gray and Kendrick had traded ships some months earlier. He indeed had no occasion to do so. It was of no special interest to him, nor would it have added anything to his story to relate that the ship, with the former captain of the sloop in command, was on her way across the Pacific to Canton, while the sloop with the former captain of the ship was making this voyage of discovery, and adding so much that he had not himself ascertained, to the world's knowledge of the coast.

Vancouver therefore supposed that Gray had made this voyage, and as his instructions particularly directed him to “examine the supposed strait of Juan de Fuca, said to be situated between the forty-eighth and forty-ninth degrees of north latitude, and to lead to an opening through which the sloop *Washington* is reported to have passed in 1789, and to have come out again to the northwest of Nootka,” he thought it very fortunate that he had fallen in with the man who had made this voyage, so near the place where he supposed the strait to be. He therefore “desired him to bring to,” lowered a boat, and sent Lieutenant Puget and Mr. Menzies, the naturalist of his expedition, on board “to acquire such information as might be serviceable in our future operations.”

But Captain Gray was greatly surprised to learn that he had made any such voyage as his two visitors described to him. He had not seen Kendrick since his return from his

trip around the world, and was never to see him again, though he did not then know it. Evidently he had learned nothing of what Kendrick had done in his absence, and indeed there was seemingly no way in which he could learn it. He could only deny that he had made the trip which Meares had made famous, and assure his visitors that the south point of the entrance to the strait was in latitude $48^{\circ} 24'$, while the ships were then, according to Vancouver's reckoning, in $47^{\circ} 38'$ and Mount Olympus was visible, bearing north, 55° east. Gray had been in the strait, but had "penetrated only fifty miles" beyond the entrance. He had "found the passage five leagues wide," and he had "understood from the natives that the opening extended a considerable distance to the northward, and this was all the information he had respecting this inland sea."

But he had other information that would have been of value had his callers been less bigoted in their own opinions, and he freely offered it to them. "He likewise informed them," Vancouver's journal continues, "of his having been off the mouth of a river, in latitude $46^{\circ} 10'$, where the out-set, or reflux, was so strong as to prevent his entering for nine days. This was probably the opening passed by us in the forenoon of the 27th, and was apparently inaccessible, not from the current, but from the breakers that extended across it."

Vancouver is frank enough to admit that Gray freely gave him all the information he had, and he was evidently better pleased to find that he did not know more, than to receive all that had been so willingly tendered. There was a strait, he was near the entrance of it, and this man had not explored it—at least not thoroughly. The way was open for him to discover it, and make the world acquainted with it for the

first time, and there would be nobody, so far as he had yet learned, to dispute the honor with him. As for the existence of the river talked about, he knew all about that. It was a river of no consequence at best, and its mouth was so lined with breakers that he had not been able to find an entrance to it, on a pleasant day, and with favoring wind. Of what consequence could it be, no matter what it was, if one of his Majesty's ships could not enter it under such circumstances?

We know, from Vancouver's own account, what Gray told him, or his representatives, but we do not know what they said to him in reply. It is evident enough from Vancouver's own writings, that he had no very high opinion of Americans. Undoubtedly his officers and others about him shared in his sentiments. It would be only natural. What should a poor Yankee fur-trading sailorman's opinion about the existence of a river, or any other matter terrestrial or celestial, be worth when compared to that of the king's own, furnished with royal commissions, and clothed with all the gold braid and tinsel of royal uniforms!

If they felt thus, and there is no lack of indication that they did, they may have said something to Captain Gray, in response to his information about the existence of a river where they had found none, that roused his Yankee spirit. It doesn't take much sometimes to make a man of enterprise, such as Gray evidently was, take a fancy to show people, who think themselves his superiors, that he can be right as well as they, and that his opinions are entitled to their respect. Once roused people of that kind sometimes do things worth remembering.

Possibly Gray may have had no thought of this kind rankling in his mind when he sailed away. Possibly he may have

had no thought above beaver skins. One opening in a wild coast is as good as another to seek for such merchandise. A large opening would be most likely to mark the entrance to a large river, and a large river, if found, would probably yield a goodly trade. Anyway he had started southward, and he continued to sail in that direction, overlooking no opening in the coast meantime. Still there was now "a desired port" somewhere ahead, not mentioned in the part of the ship's journal which we have, until after the interview with Puget and Menzies.

On the morning of May 7th, Gray's Harbor, as we now know it, was discovered. The opening in the shore as it first appeared, from a distance of six miles, according to the journal, had no very inviting appearance, and "the jolly boat was lowered away and sent off to look for an anchorage, the ship standing to and fro, with a very strong weather-current," meantime. The boat was absent until 1 o'clock P. M., when it returned, having found no safe place where the ship could anchor. But this fact did not discourage the Yankee sailor. "Sail was made and the ship stood boldly in for the shore." "We saw from our masthead a passage in between the sand bars. At half past 3, bore away, and run in northeast by east, having from four to eight fathoms, sandy bottom, and as we drew in nearer between the bars, had from ten to thirteen fathoms, having a very strong tide of ebb to stem. Many canoes alongside. At 5 P. M. came to in five fathoms of water, sandy bottom, in a safe harbor, well sheltered from the sea by long sand bars and spits. Our latitude observed this day was $46^{\circ} 58'$ north."

Trade was good and the ship remained in the harbor a little more than three days. "Many natives came alongside," says the journal of the 19th, but the ship did not tarry

to trade further with them, although trading was her business. Her commander was anxious to see "our desired port," whatever it was that made him so. At no other time during his four years' stay on the coast, does he seem to have had such an object in view, except possibly when he was returning to the rendezvous at Nootka. But now he would go, no matter how many Indians come alongside, with their canoes filled with otter and beaver skins.

What was it that urged him on toward that "desired port"? Possibly it was a wish to find more Indians, and more skins than were coming alongside in the harbor, which he had now decided to name for one of his employers. Possibly it was mere curiosity, such as moved a boy of whom he had perhaps read, who wanted to know, until he did finally know, what it was that caused the fluttering of the lid of his mother's teakettle. Perhaps it was a great "I will" such as made great orators of a stuttering Demosthenes or a timid Sheridan, or great soldiers of the hump-backed Luxenburg or the eunuch Narses; such as sustained Fulton, and Howe, and Goodyear in their long contest with poverty, and their search for success, or as upheld the hands of Washington at Valley Forge or Napoleon at Lobau. Perhaps he was thinking still of something said or done in that interview, a few mornings earlier, off the mouth of Fuca's Strait. A very little thing of the proper kind will sometimes put a man of real merit on his mettle. He may be clad in tarry jacket of nankeen and yet have a stout heart beneath it, and a wise head under a very frowsy sou'wester. In such case it would not be necessary to say to him in so many words, that his opinion, as to the existence of a river, where gold epaulets and brass braid have decided there is none, is of no possible consequence. A turn of the lip, a change in the angle of an

aristocratic nose would be sufficient, especially if the nose and lip belonged to officers of George III, and the nankeen covered an American sailor of 1792, who, in the war so recently closed, had helped to capture some of the three hundred and forty-two ships of that same doughty sovereign, which American ships had taken.

The sun had set when the Columbia passed out between the capes at the entrance of Bulfinch, now Gray's Harbor, and turned southward. At 8 o'clock the entrance "bore north, distance four miles; sent up the main top gallant yard and set all sail," says the journal, a very evident indication of impatience. There are to be no more days of waiting this time, to determine what such a wide discoloration of the sea, by what seems so much like river water, really means.

Morning shows this discolored river water all about. Morning of May 11, 1792. "At 4 A. M.," so eagerly are they on the watch, "saw the entrance of our desired port bearing east-southeast, distance six leagues." So here is the Columbia, thus early in the morning, before the same opening in the shore that Heceta had seen on August 15, 1775, and Meares on July 5th, thirteen years later, and found nothing to their advantage. Just two weeks earlier, to a day, Vancouver had been there but found no river. The weather is not more favorable than it was when the Spaniard and Englishman were here. None of them made any complaint on that score. The same "strong current" which Heceta observed is still noted. The wind is from the west. Far to the north and the south the breakers are beating the shore. No opening in them is visible, but that fact does not dishearten this tarry, fur-trading sailorman from Boston. He had come here to find out the meaning of all this discolored water,

that now darkens the sea all about him. He is a God-fearing man, but fears not to seek what God has created and concealed, for it is a part of His truth. Therefore he will know, if it is possible.

It is 8 o'clock on Friday morning, and now for it, O Boston sailor! Perhaps thy ship will be driven on some sunken reef, which these breakers are dashing over, as many others shall be in future, leaving their hulls and masts to bleach in sun and rain, until finally beaten to pieces, and swallowed up by the sea, or left hopeless upon the shore. That will mean death to thee, and all with thee, or hopeless servitude among savages, for no rescue is possible. But succeed, and in thy wake shall come steel leviathans, for which thy Columbia would hardly make a jolly boat—a new cornerstone of a great republic will be laid, and a free, brave, hardy and happy people shall come to possess the land thus won for them. Ormus and Ind and far Cathay shall send argosies to enrich them. Not empire only, but the happiness of millions yet to come hangs on the die that is now in thy hand. Fear not to make the throw!

But there is no fear in the heart that is under the tarry jacket of this Boston sailor; no thought of it in the head that is under this weather-beaten sou'wester. The "desired port" is in sight. So "up with the main top gallant yard and set sail." "At 8 A. M.," so runs the simple story of the log book, "being a little to windward of the entrance of the harbor, bore away, and run in east-northeast, between the breakers, having from five to seven fathoms of water. When we were over the bar we found this to be a large river of fresh water, up which we steered. Many canoes came alongside. At 1 P. M. came to with the small bower, in two fathoms, black and white sand. The entrance between the bars bore

west-southwest, distant ten miles. The north side of the river a half-mile distant from the ship; the south side of the same, two and a half miles distance; a village on the north side of the river west by north, distant three-quarters of a mile. Vast numbers of natives came alongside. People employed in pumping the salt water out of our water casks, in order to fill with fresh, while the ship floated in. So ends."

"It was all finished at six," says Napoleon in his report of the thirteenth Vendémiaire. "So ends," says this much-working, but meagre-writing sailor from Boston, in reporting a vaster though bloodless victory. So ends: as if one might say "that is all there was of it." A very simple matter this discovering a great river when one knows how.

Having found the river Gray was in no great hurry to leave it. He remained in it until the twentieth, but did not push his exploration of it very far. The first two days he remained at anchor, being busy with his numerous Indian visitors. On the fourteenth, fresh gales and cloudy weather coming on, he "weighed anchor and came to sail, standing up the river northeast," and finding the channel very narrow. By "4 P. M. we had sailed upwards of twelve or fifteen miles, when the channel was so very narrow that it was almost impossible to keep in it, having from three to eighteen fathoms of water, sandy bottom." At half past 4 the ship went aground, but did not stay long and was easily got off. "We backed off, stern foremost, into three fathoms, and let go the small bower, and moored ship with kedge and hawser." The jolly boat was sent out to sound the channel, "but found it not navigable any further up, so of course we must have taken the wrong channel," which was the case. Had he tried the other side of the river he would have found deeper water.

Next day the ship dropped down stream to a better anchorage, and Captain Gray and Mr. Hoskins went on shore to take a view of the country. On the 16th they "towed down about three miles, with the last of the ebb tide," and made further soundings, and early in the afternoon, the weather being "very squally, we came to about two miles from the village Chinouk (Chinook) with many natives alongside."

The seventeenth was spent in calking the pinnace, painting the ship and making various other repairs, while trade with the Indians went on as it always did when at anchor. On the eighteenth they moved a little further down the river. At 9 o'clock an effort was made to make sail, but the wind failed, and later in the day the ship "drifted down broadside with light airs and strong tide," until a fresh wind from the northward sprang up, when they "wore ship and stood into the river again."

The nineteenth was spent at anchor, in trade with the Indians. On this day Captain Gray named the river and the two capes at its entrance. The river he called Columbia's, a name doubtless suggested by that of his ship, though it seems to have meant something more, as the United States were more frequently spoken of as Columbia in those days than now. The cape at the south side of the entrance he called Point Adams, and that on the northern side Cape Hancock, doubtless in remembrance of the kindly greeting, and flattering attentions the old governor had shown him two years earlier, on his return to Boston from his trip round the world. The two former names have remained; the latter has given way, as has that which the Spaniard gave it earlier, to that given it by Meares. This is a thing to be regretted. Gray evidently knew no more of Meares'

visit in that neighborhood than he knew of his account of the trip of the *Washington*, about which Puget had told him. He had seen none of his writings. Probably he was equally ignorant of Heceta's visit. Supposing he had discovered the cape as well as the river, he gave it a name that he had special reason to honor—the name of a patriot who had been courageous enough to write it, first in the list, at the bottom of one of the greatest documents ever penned by man, and at a time when, as Franklin said, all who signed “must now hang together or they would surely hang separately.” It was written in no trembling or unwilling hand, and so legibly that all oppressors of humankind may read it there forever. The American people ought to blush, that they have permitted such a name to be displaced from a bold landmark, at the entrance to one of their principal harbors, in favor of an other though earlier name that means nothing, and expresses nothing but a foreigner's disgust at his own incompetence.

On the 20th the weather was pleasant with light breezes, and the *Columbia*, having now been ten days in the river, was made ready for sea. The tide being full at 1 o'clock, the anchor was weighed, and sail was set for the mouth of the river, but at 2 the wind failed, just when she was on the bar, and there was for a time great danger that she would drift on the breakers. “It was not possible to get out without a breeze to shoot her across the tide,” says the journal, “so we were obliged to bring up in three and one-half fathoms of water, the tide running five knots.” But in three-quarters of an hour a fresh wind from the sea sprang up, and she beat out over the bar in safety. “At 5 P. M. we were out, clear of all bars, and in twenty fathoms of water. A breeze came from the southward; we bore away to the northward, set all sail to the best advantage. At 8 Cape Hancock bore

southeast, distant three leagues; the north extremity of the land bore north by west."

So was the Columbia discovered. It is the opinion of Mr. Greenhow, and all may well subscribe to it, that if Gray had not returned to and ascended it as he did, "it would long have remained unknown; for the assertions of Vancouver that no opening, harbor or place of refuge for vessels, was to be found between Cape Mendocino and the Strait of Fuca, and that this part of the coast 'formed one compact, solid and nearly straight barrier against the sea,' would have served completely to overthrow the evidence of the American fur trader, and to prevent any further attempts to examine those shores, or even to approach them."

From the mouth of the Columbia, Gray sailed to the east coast of Queen Charlotte's Island. Here his ship, which had passed safely through the breakers, and over the bar at the mouth of the Columbia, struck a rock, and was so much injured that she was kept afloat with difficulty, until she could be got to Nootka, where the damage done was repaired. The Hope also arrived in the sound about the same time, and Gray communicated to Ingraham and to Quadra, the Spanish commandant, the particulars of his discovery of the Columbia, and of his exploration of it so far as he had explored it. He also gave the Spaniard charts and descriptions, both of the mouth of the river, and of Bulfinch Harbor, and this, as it proved, was most fortunate, for it was through these that the world was made acquainted with what he had done, and by means of them that his right to be known as their discoverer was subsequently defended. Gray himself made no publication, or general announcement, of his discoveries. His charts and descriptions were shown to Vancouver by Quadra, while their negotiations for the "restoration" of

THE COLUMBIA MEDAL.

Obverse and reverse of one of the medals used by
Levy and Keadrick for trade with the Indians.

CAPTAIN GRAY'S SEA CHEST.

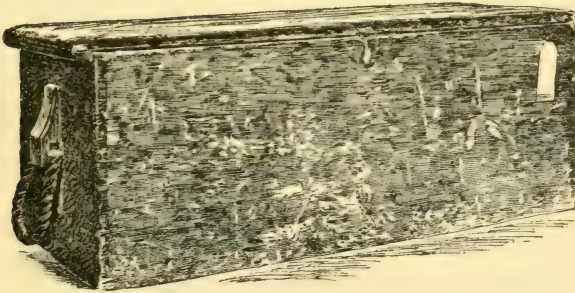
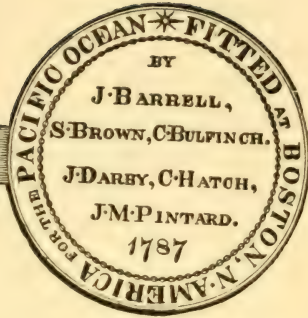
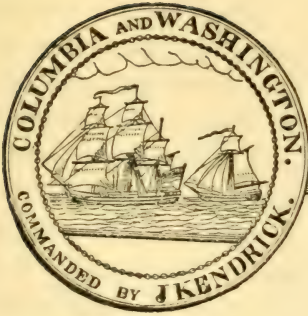
Carried by Captain Gray around the world in the
Columbia. This chest is now owned by the Oregon
Historical Society.



northeast, distant there from the beach, the narrowness of the land being such that it was not possible to go further.

So was the Columbia discovered. It is the opinion of Mr. Greenhow, and all may well subscribe to it, that if Gray had not returned he and succeeded it as he did, 'it would long have remained unknown to the western world of Vancouver that no opening, harbor or place of refuge for vessels, was to be found between Cape Mendocino and the Strait of Fuca, and that this part of the coast 'formed one compact, solid and nearly straight barrier against the sea,' would have served completely to suppress the evidence of the American fur trader, and to prevent any further attempts to examine those shores, or even to approach them."

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something that could not be really fixed upon, by Spain to England, were going on, and he subsequently made use of them in his own explorations of the river, and it was through his reports, published in 1798, after his death, that the first publication was made of what Gray had accomplished. While admitting that Gray first crossed the bar, and passed between the capes into the mouth of the river, an attempt was made to make a distinction between the mouth of the river and the river itself, in such a way as to rob Gray of the credit of his discovery. Vancouver did not explore the river himself but sent Broughton, his lieutenant, with the *Chatham* to do it, while he sailed for Monterey. Broughton found that portion of the Columbia near the sea to be about seven miles in width, with a depth varying from two to eight fathoms, and crossed by shoals which rendered navigation difficult. He chose to regard this as an arm of the sea, and called it Gray's Bay. Higher up the stream became narrower, and at a point twenty-five miles from the sea "its breadth did not exceed a thousand yards." Here, he chose to believe, was the real mouth of the river, and accordingly Vancouver made this entry in his journal: "Previously to his (Broughton's) departure, he formally took possession of the river, and the country in its vicinity in his *Britannic majesty's* name, having every reason to believe that the subjects of no other civilized nation, or state, had ever entered this river before. In this opinion he was confirmed by Mr. Gray's sketch, in which it does not appear that Mr. Gray either saw, or ever was within five leagues of its entrance."*

*It will not escape notice that Vancouver speaks of Mr. Gray here twice within a dozen words. Similarly he mentioned him as Mr. Robert Gray on the morning when he obtained from him information that he was almost at the entrance of the Strait de Fuca.

Having repaired his ship at Nootka, and joined with Ingraham in giving Quadra a letter, in which they recited the facts regarding the seizure of Meares' ships, and that of Collnet, in 1789, Gray sailed away to Canton and nevermore returned to the coast. He died at Charleston, S. C., in 1806.

The American people, and particularly these people of Washington and Oregon, have never sufficiently appreciated the value of Gray's discoveries. He himself made no boast of them. So far as we know, or can know, he made no further effort to make any account of them public, than by the communication he made to Quadra at Nootka. Discovery was not his business. He was a mere sailor trading in furs. His ship's log, or journal, was kept for the information of his employers, and for such other uses as a ship's log may serve, and no other. No effort was made to preserve it, after it had served this purpose, and when years afterwards it would have been a thing of international importance, if it could have been found, it, or most of it, had become waste paper.*

If the log books of the Columbia and Washington and particularly that of the Washington while Kendrick commanded her, could now be found, they would doubtless show that both ships had cruised through the waters adjacent to Fuca's Strait, far more extensively than we now know or suspect. All that we do know comes to us through unfriendly sources. Meares tells us of Kendrick's voyage around Vancouver's Island, and Vancouver reports that Gray "had penetrated only fifty miles into Fuca's Strait in a southeast direction." Even this information came to him at second hand through Puget and Menzies. Gray may have said a hundred and fifty miles for all we know, and to suspect that he did say so, we do not need to question the disposition

* See affidavit of Charles Bulfinch at end of this volume.

of Puget and Menzie to report him correctly. They speak of him as Mr. Gray and not as Captain, showing that they did not regard him as an officer, or as their equal. They got from him such information as they asked for, if he had it to give. They were glad to find that he laid no special claim to having explored the strait, and that he was surprised to know that he had been reported to have sailed around what we now know as Vancouver Island, and that he was ready to disavow having done so. They sneered at his presumption in presuming to suggest that there was a great river, where they already knew there was none. Why should they record to his credit anything that he did not actually and positively claim for himself?

I have no wish to depreciate the value of Vancouver's work. It was thoroughly and well done. That he should speak slightly of an American captain, who was engaged in so humble a calling as that of a fur trader, is not surprising in view of the fact that he himself wore the uniform of an officer of the navy. Still less surprising is it when the fact is remembered that within a very short time previously, officers wearing that uniform had come in contact with American sailors wearing no uniform and received rough treatment. We can therefore excuse the scant courtesy with which Gray was treated, particularly when we remember what followed. But there is all the more reason to regret the loss of these log books, for if Kendrick and Gray, or either of them did cruise through the waters of what we now so generally know as Puget Sound, they doubtless applied some good American names to points of interest, that are now made monuments to the memory of no one for whom we can possibly care. If they did leave them they have disappeared as the names of Hancock and Bulfinch have disappeared

from the places named in their honor. But it would at least be a satisfaction to know them, that we might regret them.

CHAPTER VII.

VANCOUVER'S EXPLORATIONS.

VANCOUVER was the last of the discoverers, and the first of the explorers, of our northwest coast. His work was so thoroughly and well done that his charts were, for more than one hundred years, and in fact for most places along the coast still are, the reliance of sailors.

Captain George Vancouver is supposed to have been born in the year 1758. All that we know of this date is obtained from his tombstone in Petersham Churchyard, England, which bears the inscription "Died in the year 1798, age 40 years." He entered the British naval service in 1771, in which year he served with Captain Cook, as a midshipman, on his second voyage. He was also with him on his third voyage. After Cook's death he was made a lieutenant, and appointed to the sloop *Martin*, on board of which he continued until he was removed to the *Fame*, one of Lord Rodney's fleet in the West Indies. In 1791 he was appointed to command his famous exploring expedition to our northwest coast. His squadron consisted of two ships, the *Discovery*, of four hundred tons, with a complement of one hundred men, and the armed tender *Chatham*, a much smaller ship, carrying forty-five men. The latter was commanded by Lieutenant William Robert Broughton.

Vancouver was a true British sailor, loyal to his king, his flag and to all the traditions of his calling. He was proud of the uniform he wore, and of the commission which he carried, as he had a right to be, for he had won them by arduous and honest service. He was proud also of his command, as he deserved to be, and fully realized that he had been sent on one of the most important expeditions of the kind that any country had ever prepared. More than all he was proud of a certain diplomatic duty he was sent to perform, and he

would take care to perform it as a true Briton should—demanding a little more than he hoped to receive, and rather than take less than he knew would be expected of him, would take nothing at all. If he was loyal to his king and flag, he was not less loyal to his friends, as the record shows, and not more to those who were in authority over him than to those who were his subordinates—an agreeable and indubitable proof of his greatness. It is charged against him that the discipline he maintained sometimes approached severity, and that men and officers were occasionally subjected to punishments needlessly cruel, but it is nowhere shown that he went beyond the custom of the time, or approached the limits which the admiralty would no doubt have approved.

He had industry and enterprise, characteristics which ever distinguish greatness. He always bore a fair share in the arduous service he required of others, subjecting himself willingly to the privations and exposures they were called upon to encounter. He was withal a lover of nature, and in that love he held “communion with her visible forms,” and she spoke to him indeed “a various language.” His descriptions of Puget Sound scenery are enthusiastic and often rapturous, and no loyal resident of this region of the present day has ever excelled them in these respects. In his short span of life he left a record which does him honor, and places his name in the list of the world’s great explorers.

The object of his last and greatest voyage was twofold. First, as a representative of the English government, he was to proceed to Nootka, where he was to receive from the Spanish authorities, “the buildings, districts or parcels of land, which were occupied by the subjects of His Britannic Majesty in April 1789,” and, second, to make an accurate survey of the coast, from the thirty-fifth degree of north

CAPTAIN GEORGE VANCOUVER

From a portrait in oil now in the provincial library at Victoria, B. C.

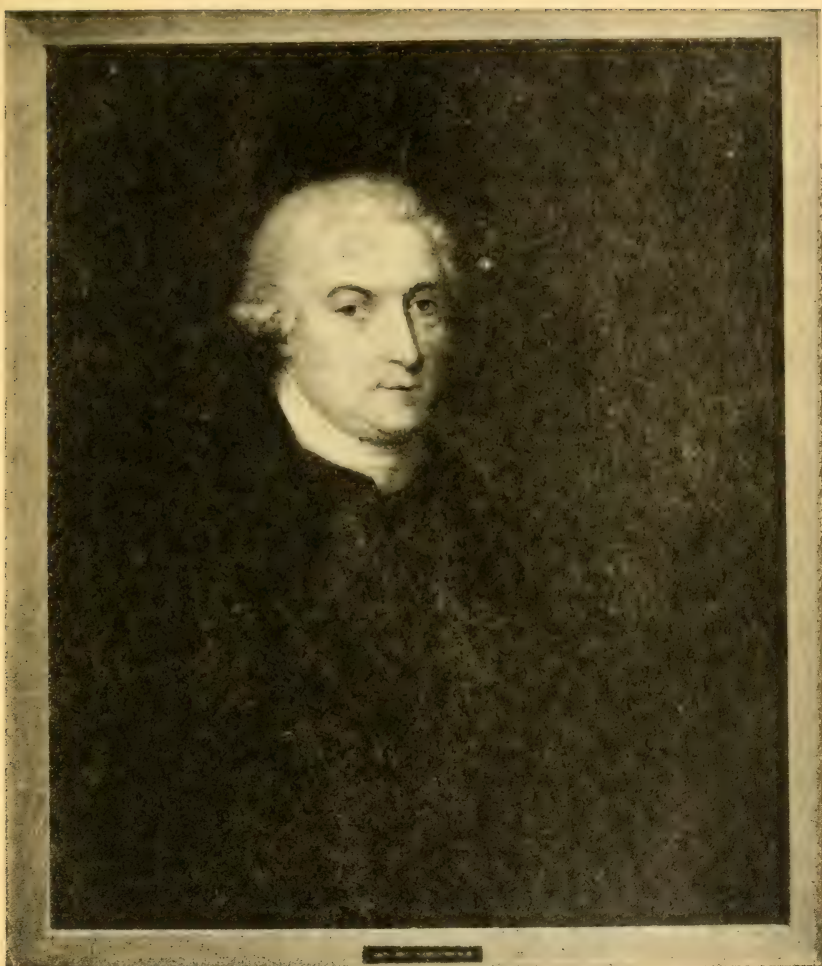
The place and date of Vancouver's birth are not known. He is buried in Petersham churchyard, where a plain marble slab bears only his name and title, with the statement that "he died in the year 1798, aged 40."



would take care to perform it as a true Briton should—demanding a little more than he hoped to receive, and rather than take what than he knew would be expected of him, would take nothing at all. To be well paid by his King and flag, he was not less loyal to his country, as the record shows, and not more to those who were in authority over him than to those who were his subordinates—an agreeable and indubitable proof of his greatness. It is charged against him that the discipline he maintained sometimes approached severity, and that men and officers were occasionally subjected to punishments verily cruel, but it is nowhere shown that he went beyond the customs of the time, or approached the limits which the admiralty would no doubt have approved.

He had officers and employees, characteristics which were thoroughly genuine. He always took a full share in the duties of his command, and was always ready to call upon to assist him. He was a true and loyal subject, and in that love he held "the commonwealth his whole soul," and she spoke to him indeed "in various language." His descriptions of the Northwest country are enthusiastic and often rapturous, and no loyal subject of this region of the present day has ever excelled him in these reports. In his short span of life he left a record which does him honor, and places his name in the list of the world's great explorers.

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latitude, northward to the sixtieth parallel; to ascertain particularly the number, situation and extent of the settlements of civilized nations within these limits; "and especially to acquire information as to the nature and direction of any water passage, which might serve as a channel, for commercial intercourse between that side of America and the territories on the Atlantic side occupied by British subjects." These instructions were signed by Chatham, Hopkins, Hood and Townshend.

Captain Vancouver did not live to publish the report of his voyage, and in the letter addressed by his brother to the king, presenting the manuscript of the ship's journals, he says that he trusts that the great discoveries of his brother will "be found to have added the complete certainty that, within the limits of his researches on the continental shores of northwest America, no inland sea or other navigable communication whatever exists, uniting the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans."

It is therefore settled at last that no Strait of Anian exists.

Vancouver was absent on this voyage of exploration from sometime in March or April 1791 until September 1795, during which he carefully examined the coast of North America from latitude 35° north to a point far beyond the limits of British pretensions in that direction, and for the first time, so far as we know, explored and surveyed the Strait of Fuca and contiguous waters.

On Tuesday, April 17, 1792, the expedition first saw the coast of "New Albion" in latitude 35° . The weather was gloomy, though the sea was calm. On the nineteenth Cape Mendocino was passed, the rocky cape of the Spaniards which for more than two hundred years had been anxiously looked for by the galleons returning from Manila, with both

hope and fear. Its reputation was sustained to the English explorers, for soon after passing it a gale came on, bringing torrents of rain, with seas so high that a part of the ship's head railing was carried away.

This storm continued for several days, and on the 25th the shores of Oregon began to appear. The first prominent headland seen was named Cape Orford, after the English earl. At sunset on the 26th they began to sight that part of the coast which had been seen and described by Meares, and as it was the same in which the Spaniard Heceta thought he had found a great river, a particularly close watch was kept, and the most careful observations made. "Remarkably steep bluff-cliffs," says the journal, "flattered us for some time with an appearance of the entrance of a harbor, but on a nearer approach, the deception was found to have been occasioned by the lower land to the north forming a very shallow open bay."

The plan of the expedition had been to observe the coast carefully during the day, and to preserve the position of the ships as nearly as possible during the night, so that the observations might begin on the following morning, where it had ended on the preceding day, and more than usual care was now taken in this respect. On the morning of the 27th the ships found themselves still within view of the landmarks they had noted on the preceding evening. "On reference to Mr. Meares' description of the coast south of this, we were at first induced to believe it Cape Shoalwater; but on ascertaining its latitude, we presumed it to be that which he called Cape Disappointment, and the opening further south of it Deception Bay. This cape was found to be in latitude $46^{\circ} 19'$ and longitude $236^{\circ} 6'$. The sea had now changed from its natural, to river-colored water; the probable consequence

of some streams falling into the bay, or into the ocean north of it, through the low land. Not considering this opening worthy of more attention I continued our pursuit to the northwest, being desirous to embrace the advantage of the breeze and pleasant weather, so favorable to the examination of the coast."

Shoalwater Bay, which Meares had misnamed, was next sighted, but like the river was deemed not accessible on account of the breakers across the entrance. This opening, like the one south of it, "for a time flattered our expectation," says the journal, "until the breakers extending across each of them, gave us reason to consider them inaccessible, and unworthy any loss of time whilst accompanied by so favorable a breeze." So no time was lost, but the discovery of a great river was missed.

On the following morning the ships were found to have been materially affected by a strong current setting toward the north, as if nature and the sea had conspired together to hurry them away from what they so much wished to find, and what they would soon so deeply regret having missed. "The land," of which they had been abreast the preceding evening, now "bore by compass southeast, six or seven leagues distant, and the coast to the north still continuing to appear a straight and compact shore." They did not attempt to get a nearer view, but bore away to the north. For the third and last time the Columbia had evaded discovery.

In latitude $47^{\circ} 22'$ north they came upon a prominent point to which they gave the name of Grenville, after the Right Honorable Lord of that name, and this was the first name bestowed by Vancouver on any part of what is now the State of Washington. On the following day the ships reached Destruction Island, where the sailors of Bodega and Berkeley

had been massacred, and in closing the record of progress made during the day, Vancouver wrote on the evening of the 28th: "Our curiosity was much excited to explore the promised expansive Mediterranean Ocean which, by various accounts, is said to have existence in this region." The weather was serene and pleasant, but the wind was light, and both officers and sailors were impatient of the slow progress they were able to make. There was plenty of time for reflection, and the captain was evidently doubtful about the hasty examination he had made of the shore that now lay to the southward. But he consoled himself with this reflection, which he confided to his journal: "The several large rivers and capacious inlets that have been described as discharging their contents into the Pacific, between the fortieth and forty-eighth degrees of north latitude, were reduced to brooks not sufficient for our vessels to navigate, or to bays inapplicable as harbors for refitting; excepting that one of which Mr. Dalrymple informs us that 'it is alleged that the Spaniards have recently found an entrance in the latitude of $47^{\circ} 45'$ north, which in twenty-seven days brought them to the vicinity of Hudson's Bay. This latitude exactly corresponds to the ancient relation of John de Fuca, the Greek pilot in 1592.' This inlet could not be but ten miles from us, and another that had been visited by Mr. Meares and other traders on the coast, was not more than twenty leagues distant. We had been extremely fortunate in the favorable winds that had attended us along the coast, and their absence at this juncture made us impatient for their return."

His eagerness to find the opening thus described was not long restrained, for "by three o'clock on Sunday morning the 29th we were indulged with a pleasant breeze, with which at daylight we weighed and stood along the shore to

the northwest," and at four o'clock the sails of Captain Robert Gray's ship, the *Columbia*, were sighted, as has been heretofore described, and Lieutenant Puget and Mr. Menzies were sent off in a boat to interview the fur-trading captain, and obtain such information as he was willing to give—and as they cared to receive from him.

After this interview the expedition proceeded with full knowledge of the course to be pursued, and the distance to be sailed before reaching the "broad strait of sea," which the old Greek sailor claimed he had entered and sailed through for twenty days, just two hundred years earlier. "The wind blew a fresh gale, attended with thick rainy weather from the east-southeast, but as it was favorable for entering this inlet we were eager to embrace the opportunity it afforded, and shortened sail that the *Chatham* might take the lead." The entrance was reached about noon when both ships rounded Cape Flattery, which they subsequently learned the Indians called *Classet*, sailing between the cape and *Tatooche* Island. A large rock lying off the island was the first object named after entering the strait. It was called *Duncan Rock*, after Mr. Duncan, who had formerly observed and described it. A close lookout was now kept for that "pinnacle or spired rock" which de Fuca had described as being near the entrance, but "no such rock was found, more conspicuous than countless others along the coast, differing in form and size, some conical, others with flat sides, flat tops and almost every other shape that can be figured by the imagination."

Having entered the strait the two ships proceeded steadily along the southern side, keeping near the shore. Many Indians were observed, some of which came up in their canoes, evidently desiring to trade, and "a few politely and earnestly

solicited us to stop at their village." But there being no good anchorage at that point, which was much exposed to the winds from the ocean, and as there was now urgent need to find some snug harbor where the ships could be repaired and refitted, no stop was made. "I now became acquainted," says the journal, "that after we had passed within the Tatoche Island, a rock was noticed, and supposed to be that represented as de Fuca's pinnacled rock; this, however, was visible only for a few minutes from its being close to the shore of the mainland, instead of lying in the entrance of the straits, nor did it correspond with that which has been so described."

It may be noted here that Vancouver sailed in a ship of four hundred tons, while the Chatham was probably at least one-half as large. De Fuca's ship had been much smaller—how much is not known, but ships of that day were often of not more than twenty or fifty tons. Indeed his "pinnacle or spired rock" may have been observed from the pinnacle, and not from his ship at all. In either event it was most likely observed, if it was observed, from a much shorter range than it could have been seen from Vancouver's ships, and would naturally have appeared larger and far more striking than from the larger vessels.

On the evening of the 29th, the ships came to anchor about eight miles within the entrance, near the southern shore, in "very thick rainy weather," but the following morning a gentle breeze from the northwest sprang up, and the sky soon cleared, giving those on board a fine view of the "renowned inlet." Both shores were now clearly visible and no land could be seen, as far as the eye could reach toward the east. As everything favored, the anchors were got up and the ships proceeded along the southern shore, at

a distance of about two miles. From observations taken at noon, on this and the preceding day, the latitude of Classet, or Cape Flattery, was made out to be $48^{\circ} 23\frac{1}{2}'$ while Gray had given it as $48^{\circ} 24'$. As the day advanced the wind, as well as the weather, which was delightfully pleasant, accelerated their progress along the coast. Indications of an inlet soon began to appear. High land was seen along the eastern horizon, where only a few hours before there had appeared to be nothing but unlimited water. "Every new appearance, as we proceeded," says the journal, "furnished new conjectures; the whole was not visibly connected; it might form a cluster of islands, separated by large arms of sea, or be united by land not sufficiently high to be discernable. About five in the afternoon a long, low sand point was observed, proceeding from the shore, behind which there seemed to be a well shielded bay, and a little to the southeast of it an opening in the land promised a safe and exclusive port."

And here a very striking landmark was, for the first time, observed. "A very high, conspicuous, craggy mountain, bearing by compass north 50° east, presented itself towering above the clouds; as low down as it was visible it was covered with snow; and south of it was a long ridge of very rugged snowy mountains, much less elevated, which seemed to stretch to a considerable distance."

As the ships were seeking earnestly for a convenient harbor, where they might make some repairs, the long sand spit referred to was rounded and the ships entered a bay which "from its great resemblance to Dungeness in the British Channel we called New Dungeness." Here they came to anchor, and here "the lofty mountain discovered in the afternoon by the third lieutenant" was, in compliment to him, named Mount Baker.

Vancouver now congratulated himself that he had advanced further up this inlet than "Mr. Gray," or any other person from the civilized world,* although he realized, as his journal shows, that the strait might prove to be the same which was said to have been entered by de Fuca, "in support of which oral testimony is the only authority produced; a tradition rendered still more doubtful by its entrance differing at least 40' in latitude."

It is evident from the journal that what Mr. Gray said to Puget and Menzies about the presence of a great river in latitude 46° and 10', only two mornings earlier, was troubling the mind of Captain Vancouver, for he confided to his journal these reflections on that subject: "Considering ourselves now on the point of commencing an examination of an entirely new region, I cannot take leave of the coast already known, without obtruding a short remark on that part of the continent, comprehending a space of nearly 215 leagues, on which our inquiries had been lately employed under the most fortunate and favorable circumstances of wind and weather. So minutely had this extensive coast been inspected, that the surf had been constantly seen to break on its shores from the masthead; and it was but in a few small intervals only, where our distance precluded its being visible from the deck. Whenever the weather prevented our making free with the shore, or on our hauling off for the night, the return of fine weather and of daylight uniformly brought us, if not to the identical spot we had departed from, at least within a few miles of it, and never beyond

*In this he was mistaken, as we shall see later, for when he fell in with Galiano and Valdez, on June 22, in the Gulf of Georgia, they informed him that Spanish vessels had, during the preceding year, refitted in Port Discovery, where he himself was to refit and which he had not yet reached.

the limits of the coast which we had previously seen. An examination so directed, and circumstances happily concurring to permit its being so executed, afforded the most complete opportunity of determining its various turnings and windings; as also the position of all its conspicuous points, ascertained by meridional altitudes for the latitude, and observations for the chronometer, which we had the good fortune to make constantly once, and in general twice, every day, the preceding one only excepted.

“It must be considered as a very singular circumstance that, in so great an extent of seacoast, we should not until now have seen the appearance of any opening in its shores, which presented any certain prospect of affording shelter; the whole coast forming one compact, solid, and nearly straight barrier against the sea.

“The river Mr. Gray mentioned should, from the latitude he assigned to it, have existence in the bay, south of Cape Disappointment. This we passed on the forenoon of the 27th; and, as I then observed, if any inlet or river should be found, it must be a very intricate one, and inaccessible to vessels of our burthen, owing to the reefs and broken water which then appeared in its neighborhood. Mr. Gray stated that he had been several days attempting to enter it, which at length he was unable to effect, in consequence of a very strong outset. This is a phenomenon difficult to account for, as, in most cases where there are outsets of such strength on a seacoast, there are corresponding tides setting in. Be that however as it may, I was thoroughly convinced, as were also most persons of observation on board, that we could not possibly have passed any safe navigable opening, harbour, or place of security for shipping on this coast, from Cape Mendocino to the promontory of Classet;

nor had we any reason to alter our opinions, notwithstanding that theoretical geographers have thought proper to assert, in that space, the existence of arms of the ocean, communicating with a mediterranean sea, and extensive rivers, with safe and convenient ports. These ideas, not derived from any source of substantial information, have, it is much to be feared, been adopted for the sole purpose of giving unlimited credit to the traditionary exploits of ancient foreigners, and to undervalue the laborious and enterprising exertions of our own countrymen, in the noble science of discovery."

The morning of May first presented "most delightfully pleasant weather," affording the man uninterrupted view of the shore and strait. The sea was calm and Mr. Whidbey was sent off, in the cutter, to search for fresh water. Not finding any in a short excursion up and down the coast, the Chatham's cutter and the Discovery's yawl and cutter were ordered to be armed and supplied with a day's provisions, and in them Vancouver and a considerable party set off to examine the two apparent openings nearest them, toward the east. The first of these, upon closer inspection, did not afford anything inviting in the way of a harbor such as they were in need of. They therefore continued on toward what appeared to be an island lying off the other supposed opening, and, as it seemed easy of access and gave promise of enabling them to ascertain whether the coast afforded any port within reach of their day's excursion, they decided to land. On ascending an eminence at the western end of the island, for such it proved to be, their attention was immediately called "to a landscape almost as enchantingly beautiful as the most elegantly finished grounds in Europe. From the height we were now upon our conjectures of this land being an island, situated before the entrance of an opening in the

mainland, were confirmed. The summit of this island presented nearly a horizontal surface, interspersed with some inequalities of ground, which produced a beautiful variety, on an extensive lawn, covered with luxuriant grass and diversified with an abundance of flowers. To the north-westward was a coppice of pine trees and shrubs of various sorts, that seemed as if it had been planted for the sole purpose of protecting from the northwest wind, this delightful meadow, over which were promiscuously scattered a few clumps of trees, that would have puzzled the most ingenious designer of pleasure grounds to have arranged more agreeably. Whilst we stopped to contemplate these several beauties of nature, in a prospect no less pleasing than unexpected, we gathered some gooseberries and roses in a state of considerable forwardness. Casting our eyes along the shore, we had the satisfaction of seeing it much broken, and forming to all appearance many navigable inlets. The inlet now before us did not seem so extensive as we had reason to believe it to be from the ships; yet there was little doubt of its proving sufficiently secure and convenient for all our purposes."

The party now proceeded at once to the exploration of the harbor, and found its entrance to be about a league wide, with water of abundant depth. Its shores were of moderate height, and not far from the entrance they fell in with a stream of very fine water. They had now found what they were seeking, and after taking some refreshment they returned toward the ships, perfectly satisfied with their success.

During the excursion many Indians were observed on shore but they exhibited little curiosity about the ships or boats, an indication that they were not altogether unfamiliar with them. While the boats were absent, some of them put off

toward the ships in their canoes, and a little trading was done with them. It was noticed that they did not understand the Nootkan language and were evidently of a different tribe.

On the lowland near New Dungeness the party first observed a number of very tall straight poles, like flag poles, erected perpendicularly and seemingly with much regularity along the shore. Each pole was supported in its place by spurs or braces, so as to fix it firmly in its upright position. The use or meaning of these poles all were very curious to know, and they were, during their entire stay, a subject of much discussion and speculation. It was presumed that they might be intended as the uprights for the structures on which the Indians dried their fish, although this seemed improbable, as their height and distance from each other would have required timbers of greater size, to reach from one to the other, than the poles were capable of sustaining. They could not therefore determine whether they were "used for religious, civil or military purposes" and the matter was accordingly left to be determined by some future investigation. It is now known that the Indians erected these poles at places where the flights of waterfowl were most frequent, and that they stretched nets, made of some fibrous grass, or of the inner bark of the roots of cedar or spruce trees, from one to the other, and thus, particularly in the evenings or early mornings, trapped many waterfowl in them, as they rose from the water, or as they were returning to it again from their long flights. The earlier pioneers found these aerial traps, some of which were sustained on poles seventy-five to one hundred feet high, at many points along the sound, and report that the Indians were very expert in setting, arranging and using them, and that many ducks and geese were taken in this way.

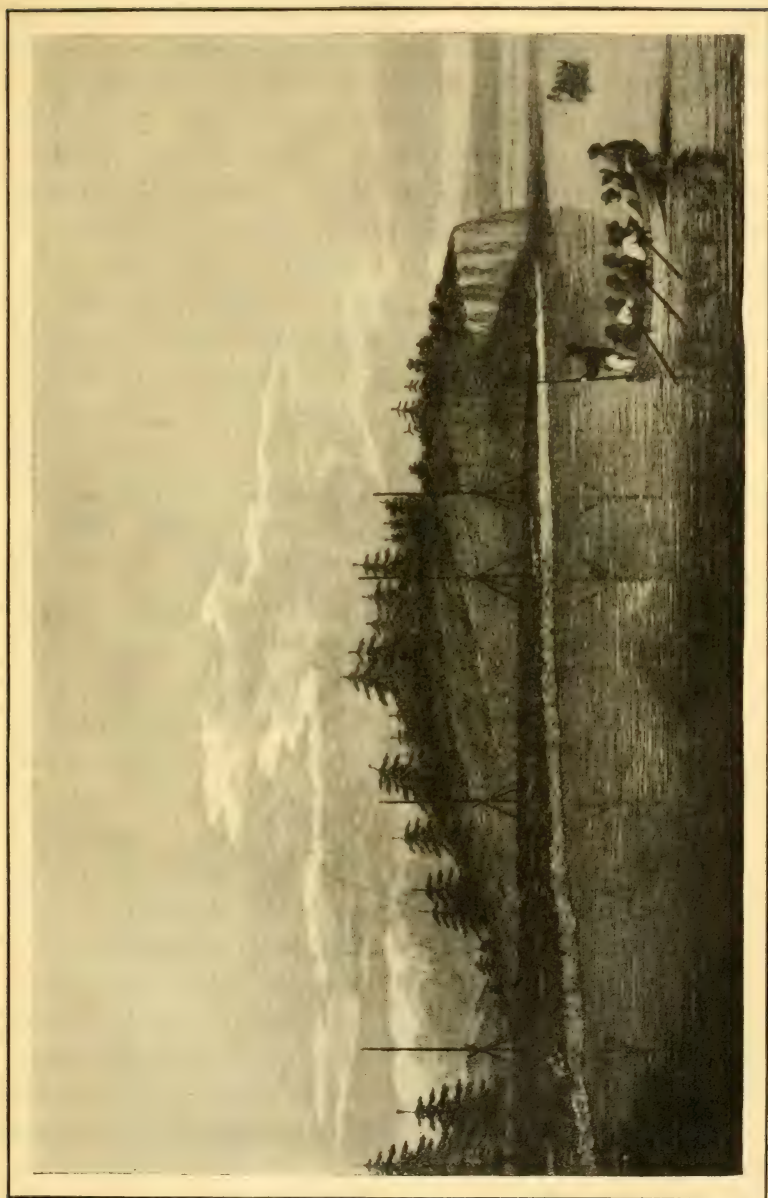
CURIOUS POLES AT PORT DISCOVERY

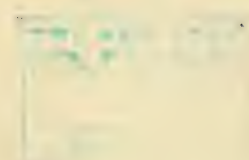
Vancouver could not guess what these poles were for. They were used by the Indians to support nets by which they caught wild ducks and geese while approaching or leaving the water.



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On the headland near New Dongenah the party first observed a number of very tall straight poles, like flag poles, erected perpendicularly and symmetrically with much regularity along the shore. Each pole was supported in its place by spurs or brackets as in fig. it firmly in its upright position. The use or meaning of these poles all were very anxious to know, and they were, during their entire stay, a subject of much discussion and speculation. It was presumed that they might be used as the uprights for the structures on which the Indians dried their fish, although this seemed improbable, as these long and distance from each other would have required poles of greater size, to reach from one to the other; that they were not capable of turning. They could not determine whether they were "used for religious, civil or military purposes" and the matter was accordingly left to be determined by some future investigation. It is not known that the Indians dried their fish at places where the light of a candle was most frequent, and that they were made of some fibrous grass, or of the inner bark of the roots of cedar or spruce trees, from one to the other, and that, particularly in the evenings or early mornings, trapped some were seen in them, as they rose from the water, or as they were returning to it again from their long flights. The earlier pioneers found these aerial traps, some of which were located in poles seventy-five to one hundred feet high, as many points along the sound, and report that the Indians were very expert in setting, arranging and using them, and that many ducks and geese were taken by this way.





On the morning of the second of May, a pleasant breeze sprang up. The two ships weighed anchor and proceeded to the harbor discovered on the preceding evening. The morning was pleasant, and the air so clear as to give an excellent view of the water and its shores in every direction. The scene was evidently inspiring, especially to those who had been a long time at sea, and had now come, at a most favorable season, upon one of nature's beauty spots. No present resident of the Sound country could write more enthusiastically of the scene which surrounded him than Captain Vancouver did.

"The delightful serenity of the weather greatly aided the beautiful scenery that was now presented; the surface of the sea was perfectly smooth, and the country before us exhibited everything that bounteous nature could be expected to draw into one point of view. As we had no reason to imagine that this country had ever been indebted for any of its decorations to the hand of man, I could not possibly believe that any uncultivated country had ever been discovered exhibiting so rich a picture. The land which interrupted the horizon between the N. W. and the northern quarters, seemed as already mentioned, to be much broken; from whence its eastern extent around to the southeast was bounded by a ridge of snowy mountains, appearing to lie nearly in a north and south direction, on which Mount Baker rose conspicuously; remarkable for its height, and the snowy mountains that stretch from its base to the north and south. Between us and this snowy range, the land, which on the seashore terminated like that we had lately passed, in low perpendicular cliffs, or on beaches of sand or stone, rose here in a very gentle ascent, and was well covered with a variety of stately forest trees. These, however, did not

conceal the whole face of the country in one uninterrupted wilderness, but pleasingly clothed its eminences, and chequered the valleys; presenting, in many directions, extensive spaces that wore the appearance of having been cleared by art, like the beautiful island we had visited the day before. As we passed along the shore near one of these charming spots, the tracks of deer, or of some such animal, were very numerous, and flattered us with the hope of not wanting refreshments of that nature, whilst we remained in this quarter."

The island lying across the entrance to this harbor, and only a short distance away, seemed to have been designed by nature for its protection and was accordingly called Protection Island.

Having now found what they had been so long in search of, the party left the ships, and prepared to make themselves comfortable on shore. A sufficient space for a camp was soon cleared, and the tents, observatories, chronometer and instruments, guarded by a party of marines, were sent on shore, and all made ready for an extended stay, while the ships should be refitted. On the following morning, the third, all set seriously to work on shore and on board. "The sail makers were repairing the sails, the coopers were inspecting the casks, the gunners airing the powder; parties were sent to cut wood, while some brewed spruce beer, and other filled up the casks with fresh water for camp uses, while those on board were busily employed in making repairs in the rigging, getting provisions to camp, and clearing the main and after holds for the reception of shingle ballast, of which we had for some time stood in much need. Some of the carpenters stopped leaks about the bows. Others assisted in calking the Chatham's side."

The party had now been a long time at sea, and therefore a general holiday was declared for the purpose of taking some recreation on shore. Although there were fewer Indians in the neighborhood than had been observed at other places along the coast, a few visited the ship, in two or three canoes, bringing with them some fresh fish and venison for sale. This was very gratefully received, and proved most acceptable after their long diet on ship's provisions.

As the employments now planned, both for those on ship and on shore, would require several days for their completion, orders were given to have the *Discovery's* yawl and launch, and the *Chatham's* cutter properly armed and supplied with provisions for five days, to be ready early next morning. Mr. Broughton was put in charge of the ships, and Mr. Whidbey of the observatory and encampment, with directions to make a survey of the shore, and such other observations as circumstances would admit, and Captain Vancouver, accompanied by Puget, Menzies and Mr. Johnstone in the *Chatham's* cutter, set off at five o'clock on Monday morning, the seventh, to explore the shore further toward the east and south. The day did not prove to be very favorable for their observations. The wind was blowing a moderate gale from the southeast, and before long the shore was obscured by a very thick fog, through which they advanced very slowly, keeping close to the right-hand shore. Having rowed against a strong tide for three or four leagues, they rounded a low projecting point, and thinking they had entered some other harbor or inlet, decided to wait until the weather should be more favorable before advancing. They accordingly landed, made camp and attempted to take some fish with a seine but with little success. After dinner they pursued their course along the beach a couple of miles,

the boats slowly following, and here the fog lifted and soon entirely dispersed. They now found themselves in a spacious inlet, from which they clearly saw Mount Baker far to the northeast. A steep point appeared to form the west boundary of another arm of the inlet, and about four miles distant, while the eastern shore was about two miles away. Here also they obtained a fine view "of a very remarkably high, round mountain, covered with snow, apparently at the southern extremity of the distant range of snowy mountains before noticed." The party dined here, and made some measurements with their instruments, after which Lieutenant Puget was directed to sound the channel, and Mr. Johnstone to examine the eastern shore, while Vancouver himself continued along the "continental shore," appointing the southernmost low point visible, for their next rendezvous.

As they advanced the country seemed "gradually to improve in beauty." The cleared spots were more numerous and of larger extent, and the remote lofty mountains, covered with snow, reflected greater lustre upon the fertile productions of the less elevated country.

On arriving near the point designated as the rendezvous of the party, an opening was seen which gave the whole eastern shore which Mr. Johnstone had been sent to examine the appearance of being an island. For this opening they immediately steered, but found it closed by a sandy neck of land, about two hundred yards in width, whose opposite shore was washed by an extensive salt lake, or more probably by an arm of the sea, stretching its beach toward the high round snowy mountain they had discovered at noon. Where the entrance of this lake, or arm of the sea, was situated, they could not then determine but conjectured it would be found round the bluff point of land which they

had observed from their dinner station. Night now came on, and as Mr. Johnstone had not returned it was supposed that he might possibly have found his way "into the salt lake," and this afterwards proved to be the cause of his absence. When he joined the party on the following morning he reported that he had found a narrow channel into the inlet "which had flattered him with returning by the isthmus that had opposed our progress," but to his mortification he had found it closed, and was obliged to keep rowing a greater part of the night in order that he might rejoin the party by the same passage he had entered in the morning. Its southern entrance was found to be navigable for small boats only from half flood to half ebb and was dry at low tide, but its northern part formed a snug little port, which "seemed likely to be made useful in careening." The survey of this inlet had now been accomplished, and proved it to be a more safe and capacious harbor than Port Discovery, and more agreeable, for the reason that the highland was further from the shore. Its soundings also showed it to have a very regular depth of water of from ten to twenty fathoms from one side to the other, with good holding ground. "To this port," says the journal, "I gave the name of Port Townshend in honor of the noble marquis of that name."

Having explored the harbor of Port Townshend to their satisfaction, the party landed on the high steep cliff, which forms its southeastern entrance, and while here Captain Vancouver observed an unusual deposit of "an indurated clay, much resembling fuller's earth," which upon closer examination he found to be "a rich species of marrow stone," and he therefore named the place Marrowstone Point.

The weather was serene and pleasant, the air perfectly clear, and from this point an excellent view of the surrounding

country, and of the unexplored water to the southward was obtained. Mount Baker towered grandly into the clouds, to the north, and to the south "the round, snowy mountain" which they had observed the day previous was distinctly seen towering even more grandly heavenward, and seeming to form the southern extremity of the great arm of the sea he was now about to explore. This mountain "after my friend Rear Admiral Rainier, I distinguished by the name of Mount Rainier."*

Having directed Mr. Johnstone to cruise along the eastern, or left-hand shore, and resolving to take that on the right himself, he appointed as their meeting place for the evening, a point of land some four leagues to the southward, which appeared to be the extremity of a long island. Aided by a favorable breeze the boats separated, and for a time advanced rapidly southward, until they began to be retarded by a strong head wind, against which they could make but little progress. Toward sunset the wind and weather materially changed and a heavy rain came on. The boats advanced but slowly, and it began to be evident that the rendezvous could not be reached even by the most diligent effort. They were therefore obliged to take to the right-hand shore, which Vancouver's party reached about one o'clock in the morning, completely drenched by the rain. A fire was started with much difficulty, and the party spent an uncomfortable and thoroughly miserable night, having almost no protection from the rain, which continued to fall during the whole of the succeeding day. On the following morning, June 9th, some of the party found several oak trees in the neighborhood, very few of which had so far been seen, and for this reason the place was named Oak Cove.

*The name is spelled Regnier in the journal.

Soon after daybreak on the morning of the 10th the party embarked again and continued southward along the shore for some distance, until they reached the high promontory which they had seen from Marrowstone Point, and where they found the waters divided into two channels, a narrow one leading toward the southwest, and a much broader one extending toward the southeast. To this perpendicular point they gave the name of Foulweather Bluff, to commemorate the experience they had had in its neighborhood. Still keeping to the right they entered the narrow channel and pursued it during the remainder of the afternoon, meeting but few Indians. Their progress was opposed by a very strong ebb tide, and also by a strong wind from the south, against which they made but very slow progress, and it was not until at noon on Friday that they reached a point which they found to be due south of Port Discovery. This they called Hazel Point, as they found many of those shrubs growing on and about it. Lying west of it was a considerable bay, which they explored to its northern end, a distance of nearly seven miles. They returned and camped for the night on the point at the southwest opening of this bay. At four o'clock the next morning, which was Saturday, they again embarked and pushed their way southward through the narrow channel. As they were supplied with provisions for only five days they began to feel the necessity of completing their exploration in this direction at the earliest moment possible. They still hoped that the land on the eastern shore would prove to be an island, and that they might find a passage around its southern end, into what was evidently the main arm of the inlet, and so make their way back to their ships. The abrupt shores on either side of them now made it impossible to add to their supplies, by

any game there might be in the neighborhood. The prospect of obtaining food from the natives was equally uncertain. "The region we had already passed seemed destitute of human beings," says the journal. "The brute creation had also deserted the shores; the tracks of deer were no longer seen, nor was there an aquatic bird on the whole extent of the canal; animated nature seemed nearly exhausted, and her awful silence was only now and then interrupted by the croaking of a raven, the breathing of a seal, or the scream of an eagle. Even these solitary sounds were so seldom heard that the rustling of the breeze along the shore, assisted by the solemn stillness that prevailed, gave rise to ridiculous suspicions in our seamen of hearing rattlesnakes, and other monsters in the wilderness, which was composed of the productions already mentioned, but which appeared to grow with infinitely less vigor than any we had been accustomed to witness."

The party now pushed on toward the south, making soundings occasionally as they proceeded, as indeed they had done ever since entering the channel, but finding no bottom even with 110 fathoms of line, except occasionally near the shore. The southern extremity of this inlet was reached late on the afternoon of Saturday, and here they found a few Indians, and the finest stream of fresh water they had yet seen. They found also that the channel here took a sharp turn toward the east, and they crossed over to the point of land formed by this turn, where there was a considerable number of Indians who manifested a very friendly disposition. Here they landed and Mr. Johnstone was directed to row around a projection in the shore, some two or three miles toward the east, and see if the end of the inlet was visible from that point. Upon his return from this excursion with the

information that the end had been seen, the whole party took up their course toward the ships.

After spending the night at a point not far from the Indian encampment above referred to, the party embarked early on Sunday morning, the 13th, taking their route down the inlet which "after the right honorable Lord Hood, I called Hood Channel." Their progress homeward like that up the channel was very slow, and it was not until Monday afternoon, the 14th, that they again reached Foulweather Bluff. They found that the promontory had not been ill-named, for they had scarcely landed in its neighborhood, before a heavy rain came on and continued the rest of the day, preventing their further advance. After waiting until ten o'clock of the following morning, Tuesday, the 15th, without the least change in the weather for the better, they again set out toward the ships, which they reached at about four o'clock in the afternoon, much to their satisfaction.

Stormy weather continued during all of the following day, and until the afternoon of Thursday, when the tents and observatories were reëmbarked, and everything got in readiness for sailing next morning. Before leaving Port Discovery Captain Vancouver made a final visit to Protection Island, and from its eastern shore obtained a fine view of that "broad expanse of sea," which de Fuca had mentioned, "trending still sometimes northwest and northeast and north, and also east and southeastward, and a very much broader sea than was at the said entrance." Toward the north there was evidently a considerable archipelago, possibly "the divers islands" that de Fuca said he had "passed by in that sailing," and these he resolved to send Lieutenant Broughton with the Chatham to examine, while he himself would proceed southward into the main arm of the inlet

extending in that direction, and he directed that the ships should rendezvous at the first opening on the right, after passing Foulweather Bluff. Returning to the ships, sail was accordingly made, at noon on Friday, the 18th, each ship directing its course toward the objects of their respective pursuits. After advancing about four leagues up the inlet the "pleasant gale" which had attended them from the northwest died away, and a strong ebb tide compelled the Discovery to come to anchor at a point not very clearly indicated, but probably not far from what is now known as Bush Point on Whidbey Island, and here the night was spent. A heavy fog on the morning of the 19th detained the ship until nearly nine o'clock, when it was dispersed by a northwest wind, and she proceeded easily up the channel. Here Captain Vancouver was again impressed with the beauty of the scene which lay all about him, and we find this in his journal:

"To describe the beauty of this region," he says, "will on some future occasion be a very grateful task to the pen of a skilful panegyrist. The serenity of the climate, the innumerable pleasing landscapes, and the abundant fertility that unassisted nature puts forth, require only to be enriched by the industry of man with villages, mansions, cottages, and other buildings, to render it the most lovely country that can be imagined; whilst the labor of the inhabitants would be amply rewarded, in the bounties which nature seems ready to bestow on cultivation."

As the ship advanced an inlet on the eastern shore was observed, which seemed to stretch far to the northward, but as the plan of exploration required the Discovery to keep to the right-hand shore, it was noted only as an object for future examination. The ship kept on its course up the main inlet, which now "extended as far as from the deck the eye could

reach, though from the masthead intervening land appeared, beyond which another high round mountain covered with snow was discovered, apparently situated several leagues south of Mount Rainier.”* This was supposed to mark a further extension of the eastern range, though the intermediate mountains connecting it with the more lofty Rainier, were not visible from that point.

Having advanced about eight leagues from the point where the preceding night had been spent, the ship was brought to anchor near “a projecting point of land” rising abruptly in a low cliff, about ten or twelve feet from the water’s side. Its surface was a beautiful meadow covered with luxuriant herbage, and near it was a commodious roadstead. Not far away toward the southwest was a small island, and near it the inlet divided into two extensive branches, one taking a southeasterly and the other a southwesterly direction. Shortly after the ship came to anchor, Captain Vancouver set off in a small boat to examine a small opening to the westward. It was nearly dark before he reached the shore, but found it to form a small cove about a half-mile in width, encircled by compact shores, with a cluster of rocks above water nearly in its centre, and little worthy of further notice.

On returning to the ship he directed that “a party under command of Lieutenant Puget and Mr. Whidbey, in the launch and cutter, with a supply of provisions for a week, should proceed to make an examination of that branch of the inlet leading to the southwestward, keeping always the starboard or continental shore on board.” This party set off at four o’clock on Sunday morning, the 20th, and before

*This mountain was subsequently named St. Helens, in honor of the British minister then residing at Madrid.

its return had discovered and explored what has since been known as Puget Sound.

The three days following the departure of Puget and Whidbey were devoted to repairing the ship, making observations and to receiving visits from the Indians. On the evening of the 23d, some members of the party, having extended their walk to some little distance from the ship, observed that the cove which they had visited on the first evening after their arrival, communicated by a very narrow passage with an opening apparently of some extent. Accordingly on the following morning Vancouver, accompanied by Mr. Baker, in the yawl set out to explore it. They found that the channel connected with "a most complete and excellent port, to all appearances perfectly free from danger, with soundings from four fathoms near the shore, to nine and ten fathoms in the middle, with good holding ground." It required the whole day for them to row around it, and on their return to the ship in the evening they named it Port Orchard, in honor of the member of the company who had discovered it.

About four o'clock on the evening of Friday, the 25th, the Chatham arrived and came to anchor. She had made a considerable exploration northward from Port Discovery, in which Lieutenant Broughton reported that he found "an archipelago of islands lying before an extensive arm of the sea, stretching in a variety of branches by the northwest, north and north-northeast." Its extent in the first direction was most capacious, and presented an unobstructed horizon, corresponding to the description which de Fuca had given it two hundred years earlier.

It now became evident that the remainder of the work to be done could best be done in the small boats, as correct and satisfactory information respecting the intricate channels

in the neighborhood could be best acquired in that way, and although the work would be extremely hazardous, and in many ways unpleasant, it was determined to adopt that method. The main channel still unexplored lay to the southward toward Mount Rainier, and as it was evident from the length of time that Puget and Whidbey had now been absent, that they had been led into waters of greater extent than were indicated by anything that could be seen, Mr. Johnstone was directed to get the Chatham's cutter and the Discovery's yawl in readiness for the purpose of examining this main arm. Mr. Broughton was directed, on the return of Puget and Whidbey, which was now hourly expected, to take the Chatham to the considerable opening toward the northeast, which had been observed from the Discovery on the way to her present anchorage, and upon arrival to push the exploration of the waters that might lie beyond.

On Saturday morning, the 26th, accompanied by Mr. Baker, Vancouver and a considerable party set off in the cutter and yawl toward the southward, leaving on the right the opening which Puget and Whidbey had been instructed to explore. They followed the western shore of the main inlet, which, at a distance of about four leagues from the ship, they found to take a sharp turn toward the southwest. Following this for five or six miles they landed at noon, probably somewhere near Dash Point, where they took lunch. From such observations as they had made and could make, they suspected that the channel would soon take a sharp turn toward the southeast, and upon resuming their journey they found this to be true. "Having passed round the point," the journal says, "we found the inlet to terminate here in an extensive, circular compact bay, whose waters washed the base of Mount Rainier, though its elevated

summit was yet a considerable distance from the shore, with which it was connected by several ranges of hills, rising toward it with gradual ascent and much regularity. The forest trees, and the several shades of verdure that covered the hills, gradually decreasing in point of beauty until they became invisible, when the perpetual clothing of snow commenced, which seemed to form a horizontal line from north to south along this range of rugged mountains, from whose summit Mount Rainier rose conspicuously, and seemed as much elevated above them as they did above the level of the sea, the whole presenting a most grand and beautiful effect."

While at lunch the party had been visited by numerous Indians, from whom they had attempted to obtain some information as to the direction of various neighboring channels, and as to whether any considerable body of water, not at present visible, might be looked for in the vicinity. They had indicated by signs that on the opposite side of the bay two channels would be found, one extending toward the north and one toward the west, or southwest, but as no part of these were visible, it was suspected that they were either attempting to mislead them or that the information they were trying to give was not understood. Proceeding across the bay in a westwardly direction, however, they found both channels as indicated. The one extending toward the north seemed very evidently to be that which would lead to the ships, and the one toward the southwest was as evidently the one through which Mr. Puget and Whidbey had passed some days before, as they had been instructed to keep to the right-hand shore.

Favored by the flood tide, which was then rushing through the narrow channel, the party passed around a sharp point toward the southwest, and after proceeding for some distance

along the left shore, stopped for the night on a small island "about a mile from the shore." This was probably Ketron Island near Steilacoom. This was on the evening of Saturday and Puget and Whidbey had now been gone six days from the ships. Their return was anxiously looked for, and during the evening lights were seen toward the west, suggesting that they might be in the neighborhood, and guns were fired to attract their attention, but as no reply was received it was supposed that the lights were from some Indian encampment.

Early the next morning the party set out, following the coast toward the south and southeast, passing the mouth of the Nisqually River but without seeing it. By evening they had reached some point probably not far from the opening of Budd's Inlet, and here concluding that they had probably reached the southern extremity of the main channel, they decided to return. Their homeward journey was made without incident, although they encountered some rain and unfavorable weather. As it was now near the beginning of June, this caused them but little inconvenience. Early on Tuesday they passed into the channel now known as the West Passage, by which they speedily returned to the point of starting. It had now been ascertained that the land on the right was a large island which "after my friend Captain Vashon of the navy," says the journal, "I distinguished by the name of Vashon's Island."

On reaching the ships it was found that Puget and Whidbey had returned late on Saturday night, or rather on Sunday morning, having been absent nearly a full week. "It was then we had seen the first evening of our excursion, from the island, and they very distinctly saw our fire, but as they did not hear the report of the muskets, concluded it a fire of

the natives, not having the least idea of any of our boats being in that neighborhood." As Mr. Puget had explored this extensive body of water, Captain Vancouver now decided to name it in his honor.

The Chatham had sailed on Monday, and Mr. Whidbey had followed in the Discovery's launch, to carry out the orders which had been left with Lieutenant Broughton. During the 29th most of the ship's people spent the day on shore celebrating the anniversary of the restoration of King Charles II to the English throne, and in honor of the event, the extensive point of land near the anchorage was designated as Restoration Point. On Saturday morning, the 29th, the anchors were taken up, and the Discovery set sail to join the Chatham in the wide opening on the eastern shore a considerable distance to the northward. On arriving there it was found that Lieutenant Hanson and Mr. Whidbey had been gone northward for three days past exploring the channel on the left-hand shore, while Lieutenant Broughton had examined that on the eastern side. The two former had not returned. On June 1st the Chatham went aground, and was for a time thought to be in considerable danger, but she was safely got off on the following day, when both ships were hauled off into deeper water to find a safer anchorage.

On the evening of June 2d, Whidbey and Hanson returned with a report of their exploration. They had found an excellent harbor on the western shore which was called Penn's Cove. On this day it was also decided that the great arm of the sea, in which the ships had now spent so much time, should be called Admiralty Inlet.

Sunday, June 3d, all hands were employed in fishing, with tolerable success, or in taking a little recreation on shore.

Monday, the 4th, was the king's birthday, and was duly celebrated by serving "as good a dinner as we were able to provide for all on board, with double allowance of grog to drink the king's health." To further celebrate the auspicious day, it was determined to take possession of the country with due form and ceremony. "To execute this purpose, accompanied by Mr. Broughton and some of the officers, I went on shore about one o'clock, pursuing the usual formalities, which are generally observed on such occasions, and under the discharge of a royal salute from the vessels, took possession accordingly, of the coast, from that part of New Albion in the latitude of $39^{\circ} 20'$ north, longitude $236^{\circ} 26'$ east, to the entrance of this inlet of the sea, said to be the supposed Strait of Juan de Fuca, as likewise all the coast, islands, etc., within the said straits, as well on the northern as on the southern shores, together with those situated within the interior sea we had discovered, extending from the said straits in various directions, between the northwest, north, east and southern quarter, which interior sea I have honored with the name of the Gulf of Georgia, and the continent binding the said gulf, and extending southward to the 45th degree of north latitude, with that of New Georgia, in honor of his present majesty.

"This branch of Admiralty Inlet obtained the name of Possession Sound. Its western arm, after Vice-admiral Sir Alan Gardner I distinguished by the name of Port Gardner and the small eastern one by that of Port Susan."* The western arm is now generally known as Saratoga Passage.

Opposed by a light but unfavorable breeze from the northwest, the ships spread their sails, on the morning of June

*Prof. E. S. Meany, who has investigated the matter with great care, is of opinion that Port Susan was named for the wife of Sir Alan Gardner.

5th, beat their way out of Possession Sound, and turned toward the north down Admiralty Inlet. Slow progress was made, however, and it was not until late in the afternoon of the 6th that they came to anchor at some distance off Strawberry Bay, which Mr. Broughton had previously visited, and in which they had hoped to find shelter. On their way thither they had passed and named the prominent points which mark the entrance of Admiralty Inlet—that on the eastern side was called Point Partridge, probably for the reason that they saw a grouse or pheasant in its neighborhood, and that on its western side “after my esteemed friend Captain George Wilson, I distinguished by the name of Point Wilson.” On Friday, the 8th, taking advantage of the flood tide, the ships were safely anchored in Strawberry Bay, and an island in its neighborhood, which was found to be covered with an abundance of upright cypress, was named Cypress Island.

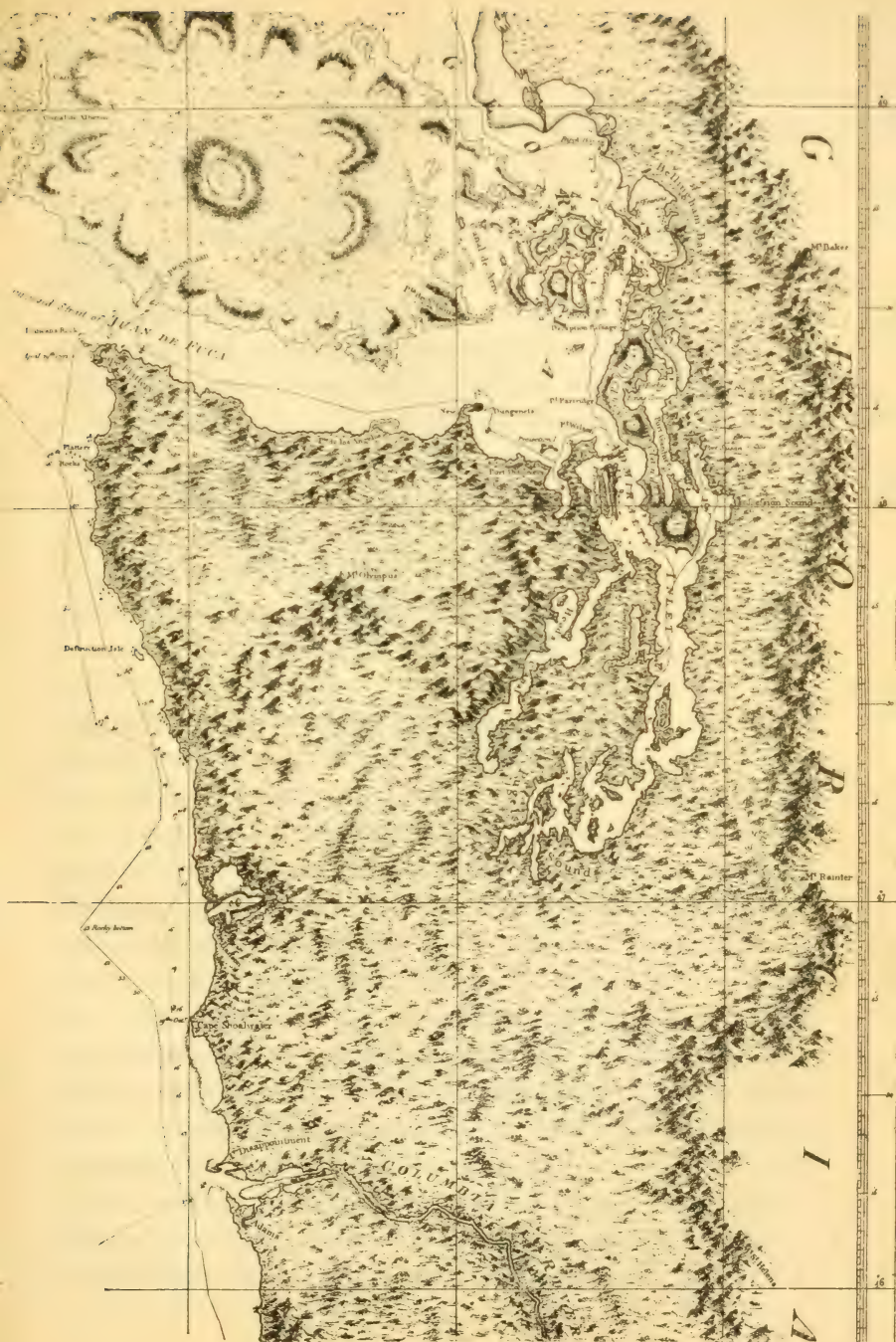
On the preceding day, while the ships were waiting an opportunity to find their way to their anchorage, Lieutenant Puget and Mr. Whidbey had been sent off in the launch and cutter, with a week’s provisions, to explore the shores to the eastward, and to rejoin the ships again at their next rendezvous. They returned to Strawberry Bay on Sunday morning, the 10th, and reported that they had found a very narrow and intricate channel, which for a considerable distance was not forty yards in width, and abounded with rocks above and beneath the surface of the water, connecting directly with Port Gardner. The great rapidity and irregularity of the tide rendered the passage navigable only for boats or vessels of very small burthen. This discovery demonstrated that their explorations were now complete, as far north as they then were, and that the land on their right,

THE RT OF MATHSOLUTIONS MAP

Shifting most of the names involved by invalid as producers, also this part of the Island of Quadra and Vancouver that would now belong to the United States had the last month passed throughout its whole length to the Pacific, been ordered upon it as it had been in all previous negotiations and arrangements.

gave them their view out of Peasebory Sound, and turned toward the north-west, Admiralty Inlet. Slow progress was made, however, and it was not until late in the afternoon of the 25th that they came so near as to see a distance off Strawberry Bay, which Mr. Dillingham had previously visited, and in which they had hoped to find shelter. On their way thither they had passed and named the prominent points which mark the entrance of Admiralty Inlet—*one* on the eastern side was called Point Partridge, probably for the reason that they saw a grouse or ptarmigan in its neighborhood, and that on the western side "after my esteemed friend Captain George Wilcox, I distinguished by the name of Point Wilcox." On Friday, the 26th, taking advantage of the flood tide, the ships were safely anchored in Strawberry Bay, and as usual in the neighborhood, much was found to be covered with an abundance of upright cyprus, was named Cypress Island.

On the preceding day, while the ships were waiting an opportunity to find their way to their anchorage, Lieutenant Pugin and Mr. Whalley had been sent off in the launch and cutter, with a week's provisions, to explore the shores all the wayward, and to report on the ships again at their next rendezvous. They returned on Strawberry Bay on Sunday morning, the 28th, and reported that they had found a very narrow and intricate channel, which for a considerable distance was not forty yards in width, and abounded with rocks above and beneath the surface of the water, connecting directly with Port Gardner. The great rapidity and irregularity of the tide rendered the passage navigable only for boats or vessels of very small burden. This discovery demonstrated that their explorations were now complete, as far north as they then went, and that the land on their right,



which they had just passed, was in fact a large island, which was named Whidbey Island, in honor of Mr. Whidbey, who had completed its circumnavigation, and the pass which separated it from the land lying north of it was called Deception Passage.

During their absence Puget and Whidbey had entered what appeared to be a spacious sound, extending widely in three directions. That leading toward the north appeared to be the main arm of the gulf, and toward the northwestward the horizon was unbounded, while its width seemed to be very considerable. As the present anchorage was not altogether satisfactory it was determined to proceed with the vessels up the gulf, toward the northwest, in quest of a more commodious situation, where their explorations might be more conveniently and more safely prosecuted. Accordingly, with a light breeze on Monday morning, the 11th, both ships set sail toward the north, through a cluster of islands, rocks and rocky islets. They proceeded first toward the northeast, passing a branch of the gulf that had already been examined, then toward the northwest along what appeared to be a continuation of the continental shore, until about six o'clock in the evening, when a small bay presented itself, in which the ships were safely anchored in six fathoms of water one half-mile from shore. At this point an observatory was erected for the purpose of making such nautical observations as were necessary, and Mr. Whidbey was dispatched to finish the exploration toward the southeast, while Vancouver himself, accompanied by Mr. Puget, set off in a northwardly direction, up the main gulf.

On Tuesday morning, June 12th, this party found themselves in a broad expanse of water terminating in two bays, the southernmost of which extended toward the east, in a

circular form, and was the smaller, while a much larger one extended far toward the north. The point of land forming its southwestern opening was "distinguished by the name of Point Roberts, after my esteemed friend and predecessor in the Discovery." From this point Vancouver and his party proceeded, for a considerable distance, toward the north into the Gulf of Georgia, examining with their usual care, and naming a number of places which now belong to British Columbia. In this work they were engaged for several days, and as they were returning toward the ships, on Friday, the 22d, they fell in with two Spanish vessels of war, a brig and a schooner, under the command of Senor Don D. Galiano and Senor Don C. Valdez, both captain of frigates in the Spanish navy, who had sailed from Acapulco on the 8th of March, in order to prosecute discoveries on the coast. Visits with these gentlemen were exchanged, and the utmost good feeling established. It was learned from them that their vessels had been employed in this same work during the preceding year, and that they "had refitted in the identical part of Port Discovery which afforded us similar accommodation." From them it was also learned that Senor Quadra, the commander in chief of the Spanish marine at San Blas and at California was, with three frigates and a brig, awaiting Vancouver's arrival at Nootka, in order to negotiate the restoration of those territories to the crown of Great Britain. This information rendered Vancouver anxious to complete his explorations at the earliest possible moment. On his return to his ships he found that Mr. Whidbey had completed his examination of that part of the coast which had not been previously visited. A large bay lying south of that in which the ships were then anchored, and which he had explored, was named

Bellingham Bay,* and the smaller one, in which they had found their last harbor in what are now American waters, was called Birch Bay, from the number of trees of that variety which covered its shores.

From Birch Bay the ships proceeded northward, through the Gulf and Strait of Georgia and Johnstone Strait to Queen Charlotte's Sound. As Vancouver and those with him had been convinced from the start that the land now lying on their left was an island, they devoted their time particularly to the eastern shore, entering and exploring with the greatest care all its long and intricate inlets, making sure that none of them afforded a passage through the continent to Hudson's Bay. Having arrived at Queen Charlotte's Sound the *Discovery* first, and the *Chatham* immediately afterwards, went on the rocks, but both were got off without serious damage. They then proceeded to Nootka, where Quadra was awaiting them, and where a considerable time was spent in a fruitless effort to determine just what Spain ought to restore, and England ought to accept, in place of "the buildings, places, and parcels of land," which Martinez had seized from the all-pretending Meares. During his many conferences with Quadra, Vancouver learned of Gray's discovery of Bullfinch Harbor, and what was of vastly more importance, of a great river emptying into the ocean in latitude $46^{\circ} 10'$ north, where he himself had been so thoroughly convinced there was none. He accordingly sailed from Nootka on the 13th of October, and on the 18th was opposite Bullfinch Harbor, which he sent Lieutenant Whidbey, in command of the *Daedalus*, his store ship which had now joined

* According to Mr. Meany this name was probably given in honor of Sir William Bellingham, who was controller of the storekeeper's accounts in the English navy at that time.

him, to explore. With the other two vessels he continued on to the mouth of the Columbia, and sent Broughton with the Chatham to explore it, as he was still convinced that no ship of the size of the Discovery would be able to get over its bar, "except in very fine weather with moderate winds and a smooth sea." With the Discovery therefore he continued down the coast to San Francisco, leaving instructions that the other ships should join him there as soon as their work should be completed.

Broughton found the brig Jennie, from Bristol, under command of Captain Baker, lying in the small bay behind Cape Disappointment as soon as he had entered the river, and named the bay for its captain. He had scarcely got inside before the Chatham ran aground, and the channel proved to be so intricate that it was determined to leave her about four miles from the mouth of the river, and proceed up stream in his cutter. He found that portion of the river near the sea to be about seven miles in width, while its depth varied from two to eight fathoms, and "was crossed in every direction by shoals which must always render its navigation difficult even by small vessels." Farther up, the stream became narrower, and at a distance of about twenty-five miles from the capes, its breadth did not exceed one thousand yards. This Broughton chose to assume to be the true mouth of the river, and that the waters below it constituted an inlet or sound, although they were fresh waters while those of inlets and sounds, being supplied wholly by the ocean, are always salt.

This distinction between the mouth of a river and the river itself was made solely for the purpose of depriving Gray, if possible, of the credit of its discovery. "The discovery of this river," he says, in his journal, "we are given to

THE DISCOVERY ON THE ROCKS

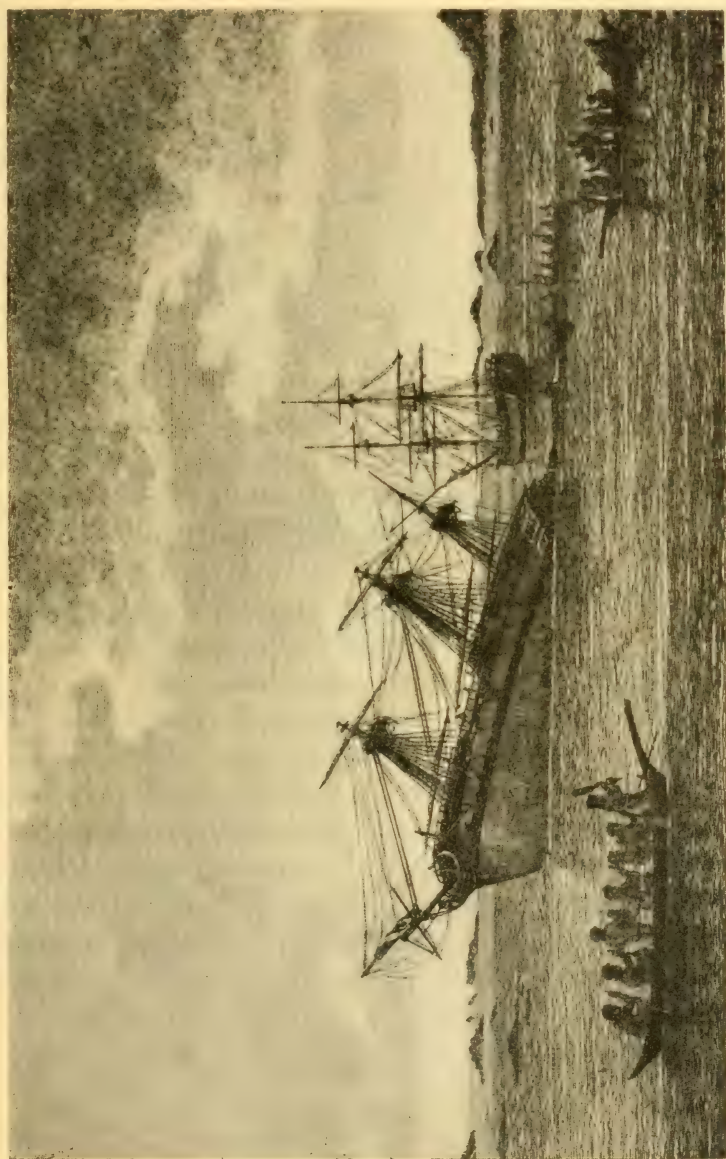
Both the Discovery and the Challenger went aground in Queen Charlotte's Sound, but both were got off without much injury or great expense to the ships.



long, to explore. While the other two, *Expecta* and *Discovery*, were at the mouth of the river, and were brought on with the *Charlam* to explore in as he was still convinced that no ship of the line of the Discovery would be able to get over its bar, "except in very fine weather with moderate winds and a smooth sea." With the *Discovery* therefore he continued down the coast to San Francisco, leaving instructions that the other ships should join him there as soon as their work should be completed.

Brougham found the long Jennie, from Bristol, under command of Captain Baker, lying in the small bay behind Cape Disappointment as soon as he had entered the river, and found the boat for its captain. He had scarcely got ashore before the Indians ran aground, and the channel proved to be so narrow that it was determined to leave the river four miles from the mouth of the river, and sail round up stream to the river. He found that portion of the river near the point he had just reached very shallow, while its depth varied from ten to eight fathoms, and "was crossed in every direction by shoals, rocks, mud, strong currents, navigation difficult even by small boats." Farther up the stream became narrower, and at a distance of about twenty-five miles from the cape, its breadth did not exceed one thousand yards. This Brougham then assumed to be the true mouth of the river, and that the waters below it constituted an inlet or sound, although they were fresh waters while those of salts and would being supplied wholly by the ocean, are always salt.

This distinction between the mouth of a river and the river itself was made solely for the purpose of depriving Gray, if possible, of the credit of its discovery. "The discovery of this river," he says, in his journal, "is all given to



understand is claimed by the Spaniards, who called it *Entra de Ceta*, after the commander of the vessel who is said to be its first discoverer, but who never entered it; he places it in 46° north latitude, at the same opening that Mr. Gray stated to us, in the spring, he had been nine days off the former year, but could not get in on account of the outsetting current; that in the course of the late summer he had, however, entered the river, or rather the sound, and had named it after the ship he then commanded. The extent Mr. Gray became acquainted with on that occasion, is not further than what I have called Gray's Bay, not more than fifteen miles from Cape Disappointment, though according to Mr. Gray it measures thirty-six miles. By his calculation its entrance lies in latitude $46^{\circ} 10'$ longitude $237^{\circ} 18'$ differing materially in these respects from our observations."

From this point the party rowed up the river about eighty miles, to a bend where the current was so rapid as to prevent them from advancing further without great labor. They accordingly abandoned the survey and returned to their vessel. The point of land around which the current flowed so rapidly as to prevent their further advance, was that on which the city of Vancouver now stands, and Broughton named it Point Vancouver. On the 10th of November the *Chatham* left the *Columbia* in company with the *Jennie*, and both arrived at San Francisco before the end of the month.

CHAPTER VIII.

MACKENZIE AND FRASER.

ALL of Oregon, including Washington, had now been discovered, but it was not yet explored. Spanish, English, and American ships had sailed all along its western coast, and penetrated into the utmost reaches of its vast interior sea; its great river had been found and named; its towering mountain peaks, clothed with perpetual snow, had been seen from afar, as well as the mountain range which seemed to connect them. But what lay beyond the mountains no one could tell. Far to the eastward there was a loftier and grander range, then known as the Shining or Stony Mountains, but what lay between, whether verdant plain or sandy desert, wooded hills or level prairie, no civilized man yet knew. No white man had ever looked upon it, nor had his foot pressed it.

Vague legends, the origin of which no one really knew, had been told of it more than a century and a half before Gray had found the mouth of the Columbia. A French governor general, having his capital in old Quebec, had authorized Pierre Gauthier de Varennes Sieur de la Verendrye, a French trader, to set out in an expedition in 1731, to explore the headwaters of the Missouri River. The real purpose was to extend French trade as far as possible toward the west, and to ascertain, if it could be done, the probability of overland communication with the Pacific Ocean. A line of posts was built from Lake Superior northwestward to the Saskatchewan River, and the junction of the Assiniboine and Red Rivers. From these forts Verendrye sent out expeditions toward the north and west, in charge of his brother and his sons. One of these ascended the Missouri to its source in the Rocky Mountains, where, warned of danger from the Sioux and other Indians, they had turned back. These were the first white men who ever saw the Shining

or Rocky Mountains so far toward the north. They brought back with them no information in regard to the country lying beyond the mountains toward the west.

Twenty-five years later, in 1758, Le Page du Pratz, an entertaining French writer, published an *Histoire La Louisiane*, in which he told, in an entertaining way, of a Yazoo Indian named Montcacht-Ape, or Montcachtabe—which is said to mean “he who kills trouble and fatigue”—who had ascended the Missouri River to its source in the Rocky Mountains, where he had remained a long time with the Indians inhabiting that country, and had learned their language. He had also crossed the Shining Mountains, which were exceeding high and beset with many dangers, and had reached a beautiful river which flowed into a great ocean. There he met another tribe called the Otters, two of whose people, a man and a woman, accompanied him westward until they finally reached the ocean where, as he says: “I was so delighted I could not speak. My eyes were too small for my soul’s ease. The wind so disturbed the great water, that I thought the blows it gave would beat the land in pieces.” The course of this great river, which Moncachtabe claims to have descended, was subsequently laid down on several maps of North America, in which it was called “the Great River of the West.” But all the information the map makers had to guide them in exhibiting its supposed course, was obtained from Le Page’s book.

In 1766, eight years after Le Page’s history had been published, Captain Jonathan Carver, a native of Connecticut, who had served in the war against the French, made a trip to the upper Mississippi region, going by way of Detroit into the Strait of Mackinaw (at that time spelled Michilimackinac). Carver claims to have remained among the Indians



for two years, during which time he collected very accurate
which was subsequently published in London. In the
introduction to it he states what his object was in
making the journey.

"After gaining a knowledge of the manners, customs,
languages, and natural productions of the different
nations that inhabit the bank of the Mississippi, to ascertain
the breadth of the vast continent which extends from the
Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, to the broadest part, between
the 32d and 45th degrees of northern latitude. Had I been
able to accomplish this, I should so have proposed to the
government to establish a post in some of those parts, about
the Strait of Anian, which, having been discovered by Sir
Francis Drake, of course belongs to the English. This
I am convinced would greatly facilitate the discovery of
a northwest passage, or a communication between Hudson's
Bay and the Pacific Ocean." Disappointed in his intention
to continue his journey "by way of Lakes Du Boisé, Du
Plum and Quilpoque to the waters of the great river of the
West, which falls into the Strait of Anian," he says:

"The plan I had laid down for penetrating to the Pacific
Ocean proved abortive. It is necessary to add, that this
proceeded, not from its impracticability, (for the farther I
went the more convinced I was that it could certainly be
accomplished), but from unforeseen disappointments. How-
ever, I proceeded so far, that I was able to make such dis-
coveries as will be useful in any future attempt, and possess
a good foundation for some more fortunate success to build
upon. These I shall now lay before the public in the follow-
ing pages, and am assured that the greater part of them
have never been published by any person that has hitherto
treated of the interior nations of the Indians; particularly,

ARVER'S MAP—1778

Showing "the River of the West" falling into the Strait of Anian; also the four great rivers which take their rise within a few leagues of each other, "nearly about the centre of this great continent."



for two years, during which time he carefully kept a journal which was subsequently published in England. In the introduction to it he thus states what his purpose was in making the journey:

“After gaining a knowledge of the manners, customs, languages, soil and natural productions of the different nations that inhabit the back of the Mississippi, to ascertain the breadth of the vast continent which extends from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, in the broadest part, between the 43d and 46th degrees of northern latitude. Had I been able to accomplish this, I intended to have proposed to the government to establish a post in some of those parts, about the Strait of Anian, which, having been discovered by Sir Francis Drake, of course belongs to the English. This I am convinced would greatly facilitate the discovery of a northwest passage, or a communication between Hudson’s Bay and the Pacific Ocean.” Disappointed in his intention to continue his journey “by way of Lakes Du Booïs, Du Pluie and Quinipique to the waters of the great river of the West, which falls into the Strait of Anian,” he says:

“The plan I had laid down for penetrating to the Pacific Ocean proved abortive. It is necessary to add, that this proceeded, not from its impracticability, (for the further I went the more convinced I was that it could certainly be accomplished), but from unforeseen disappointments. However, I proceeded so far, that I was able to make such discoveries as will be useful in any future attempt, and prove a good foundation for some more fortunate successor to build upon. These I shall now lay before the public in the following pages; and am satisfied that the greatest part of them have never been published by any person that has hitherto treated of the interior nations of the Indians; particularly,

the account I give of the Naudowessies, and the situation of the heads of the four great rivers that take their rise within a few leagues of each other, nearly about the center of this great continent, viz.: the river Bourbon, which empties into Hudson's Bay, the waters of the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi, and the river Oregon, or the river of the West, that falls into the Pacific Ocean at the Strait of Anian."

This is the first known mention of the name Oregon. Where Carver first heard it or what it means, nobody yet knows. Various theories have been advanced to account for its origin. Some learned authorities have suggested that the Spaniards derived it from their name for the wild marjoram, which grows in abundance along the Oregon coast, and that they conferred the name on the great river in the country through which it flows. Archbishop Blanchet has related that in 1857 he met at Bolivia, in South America, the eminent linguist, Dr. George Haygart of London, who asserted that Oregon had its origin in the Spanish word Orejon, meaning big ear. This the archbishop thinks quite probable, since the Spaniards who first visited this country would naturally have observed the ears of the natives, which had been made conspicuously large by means of the huge ornaments which they wore in them. But if this is so no Spanish writer has ever left a record of the fact.

There is no evidence in Carver's book that he ever saw the Rocky Mountains, or approached sufficiently near them to learn anything of the Oregon country, or its great river, from personal observation, or from contact with any Indian, or other living person, who had everseen it. Indeed, he admits that he ascended the St. Peter's River only two hundred miles, and that this was "the utmost extent of my travels toward the west." All that he learned about the country

beyond that point he gathered from the Indians, and from the books of other writers, and there is not lack of evidence that he drew liberally from the latter source. But while other writers generally were content to describe only what they had seen, Carver confidently described much that he had not seen, and much also that did not exist at all. "From statements made by the Indians," he says, ". . . together with my own observations, I have learned that the four most capital rivers of North America, viz. the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi, the Bourbon and the Oregon, or the River of the West, have their sources in the same neighborhood. The waters of the three former are within thirty miles of each other; the latter, however, is farther west." The only really noteworthy thing about Carver's book, aside from its unreliability, is his mention of the Great River of the West, and the use of the word Oregon in connection with it, for previous to this time no one had ever seen the word written, or heard it pronounced, so far as known. The word was in Carver's time as unfamiliar to the Indians as to white people, and there can be little doubt that he invented it as he invented many of his geographical facts.

The first white man who ever crossed the Rocky Mountains was Sir Alexander Mackenzie. He was an enterprising member of the Northwest Fur Company, and had long been engaged in its service. This Company had been formed by various fur traders in Montreal, who had for a number of years been in competition with the Hudson's Bay Company, having their headquarters on the St. Lawrence, and on the north shore of Lake Superior. They had pushed their posts far to the westward on the Saskatchewan and the Athabasca. Near the southwest end of Lake Athabasca, Fort Chipewyan had been established, in latitude

58° 49' north. This lake is about two hundred miles long, from east to west, with an average breadth of thirteen miles, and is about equally distant from Hudson's Bay and the Pacific Ocean. It receives the Athabasca, or Elk River from the Rocky Mountains, and discharges its waters through Slave River, which after running north two hundred miles, empties into the Great Slave Lake.

While Mackenzie was in charge at Fort Chipewyan, he resolved to discover, if possible, whether the great Slave Lake, after receiving the waters of Slave River, emptied into the Arctic Ocean, or into Hudson's Bay. Accordingly on June 3, 1789, he left the fort, with a small party, in three bark canoes, and followed the river northward for nine hundred miles, to its mouth in the Arctic Ocean in latitude 69° north, longitude 136° west of Greenwich. This exploration finally determined the fact that there was no Strait of Anian crossing the American continent in its northern part.

Having succeeded so eminently in exploring the country toward the north, Mackenzie resolved to make a second venture toward the west, and if possible reach the Pacific. Accordingly on the tenth of October 1792, with two canoes, laden with necessary articles for trade with the Indians, he left Fort Chipewyan, ascended Peace River to a winter camp near the summit of the Rocky Mountains, where they remained until the following May. Then with one canoe, sufficiently light for two men to carry it, the party, consisting of ten men carrying three thousand pounds of provisions and trading goods, left their camp and proceeded up the river. On the 19th of June they reached a lake, at its extreme source in latitude 54° 25' north, where Mackenzie says "we landed and unloaded." Here they found a beaten path leading over a low reach of land, eight hundred and

ALEXANDER MACKENZIE

From a portrait in oil owned by the provincial government of British Columbia. Born in Scotland. Traced the Mackenzie River to its mouth in the Arctic Ocean in 1799; in 1793 crossed the Rocky Mountains and made his way to the Pacific, being the first white man to cross the continent north of Mexico.



58° 25' north. This lake is about two hundred miles long, flows east to west, only a few miles broad at its eastern end, and is about equally distant from Hudson's Bay and the Pacific Ocean. It receives the Amabakca, or Elk River from the Rocky Mountains, and discharges its waters through Slave River, which after running north two hundred miles, empties into the Great Slave Lake.

While Mackenzie was in charge at Fort Chipewyan, he resolved to discover, if possible, whether the great Slave Lake, after reaching the waters of Slave River, emptied into the Arctic Ocean, or into Hudson's Bay. Accordingly on June 11, 1793, he left the fort, with a small party, in three bark canoes, and followed the river northward for nine hundred miles, to its mouth in the Arctic Ocean in latitude 71° north, longitude 117° west of Greenwich. His expedition finally determined the fact that there was no fresh water flowing through the American continent to its northern part.

Having succeeded so completely in exploring the country toward the north, Mackenzie resolved to make a second venture toward the west, and if possible reach the Pacific. Accordingly on the tenth of October 1793, with two canoes, laden with necessary articles for trade with the Indians, he left Fort Chipewyan, ascended Slave River to a winter camp near the summit of the Rocky Mountains, where they remained until the following May. Then with one canoe, sufficiently light for two men to carry it, the party, consisting of ten men carrying three thousand pounds of provisions and trading goods, left their camp and proceeded up the river. On the 19th of June they reached a lake, at its extreme source in latitude 54° 25' north, where Mackenzie says "he landed and unloaded." Here they found a beaten path leading over a low reach of land, eight hundred and



seventeen paces in length, to another small lake out of which "two streams tumbled over rocks from the right, and lost themselves in the lake which we had left, while two others fall from the opposite heights, and glide into the lake which we were approaching, this being the highest point of land dividing these waters, and we were now going with the stream."

On the 17th of June they reached a considerable river which the natives called Tacoutche Tesse. This Mackenzie supposed to be the Great River of the West, but after descending it for about two hundred and fifty miles, and finding the channel much obstructed by rocks and rapids, he resolved to leave it and make his way toward the coast overland. This he did on July 4th, and traveled westward, reaching the Pacific Ocean in what he called "the cheek of Vancouver's Cascade Canal," in latitude $52^{\circ} 20' 48''$ north, longitude $128^{\circ} 2'$ west of Greenwich.

Thus for the first time the broad continent had been crossed from the Atlantic to the Pacific. To mark the place of arrival Mackenzie says: "I now mixed some vermilion and grease, and inscribed in large characters, on the southeast side of the rock on which we had slept that night, this brief memorial: 'Alexander Mackenzie from Canada by land, the 22d day of July 1793.'" The party returned to the winter camp on the upper waters of Peace River, and on August 24th again reached Fort Chipewyan.

The geographical result of these two trips was to determine positively the character of this whole northern part of the American continent, and to confirm Captain Cook's conclusion that it extended in an interrupted line northwestward to Bering Strait. The political result was to give to Great Britain a strong prior claim, by right of exploration, to that

part of the country lying south of the Russian possessions, which was drained by the rivers which Mackenzie had crossed.

Mackenzie himself was fully aware of the value of this advantage and took care to point it out in his journal. Believing the Tacoutche Tesse to be the Columbia, he says: "By these waters that discharge themselves into Hudson's Bay at Port Nelson, it is proposed to carry on the trade to their source at the head of the Saskatchewan River, which rises in the Rocky Mountains, not eight degrees of longitude from the Pacific Ocean. The Tacoutche Tesse, or Columbia River, flows also from the same mountains and discharges itself likewise into the Pacific in latitude forty-six degrees twenty minutes. Both of them are capable of receiving ships at their mouths, and are navigable throughout for boats.

"The distance between these waters is only known from the report of the Indians. If, however, this communication should prove inaccessible, the route I pursued, though longer, in consequence of the great angle it makes to the north, will answer every necessary purpose. But, whatever course may be taken from the Atlantic, the Columbia is the line of communication from the Pacific Ocean pointed out by nature, as it is the only navigable river in the whole extent of Vancouver's minute survey of the continental coast; its banks also form the first level country in all the southern extent of continental coast from Cook's Entry, and, consequently, the most northern situation fit for colonization, and suitable to the residence of a civilized people. By opening this entire course between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and forming regular establishments through the interior, and at both extremes, as well as along the coasts and islands, the entire

command of the fur trade of North America might be obtained, from latitude forty-eight degrees north to the pole, except the portion of it which the Russians have in the Pacific. To this may be added the fishing in both seas, and the markets of the four quarters of the globe. Such would be the field for commercial enterprises; and incalculable would be the product of it, when supported by the operations of that credit and capital which Great Britain preëminently possesses. Then would this country begin to be remunerated for the expenses it has sustained in discovering and surveying the coasts of the Pacific Ocean, which is at present left to American adventurers, who, without regularity or capital, or the desire for conciliating future confidence, look altogether to the interest of the moment. They, therefore, collect all the skins they can procure, and in any manner that suits them, and, having exchanged them at Canton for the produce of China, return to their own country. Such adventurers, and many of them, as I have been informed, have been very successful, would instantly disappear from the coast."

Had Great Britain acted promptly upon the suggestion thus given in 1793, ten years before Jefferson sent his message to Congress, urging the appropriation of \$2,500 to explore the upper waters of the Missouri and the regions lying beyond, all the advantages gained by Gray's discovery for the United States might have been easily transferred to itself. But happily this was not to be. The same overruling Providence which had kept the Spaniard and the Englishman from finding the mouth of the Columbia was to keep the Briton from finding its sources, until one man in the infant republic could prepare the way for their discovery.

It is as well to note here the steps which were taken to secure for Great Britain some part of the country lying west

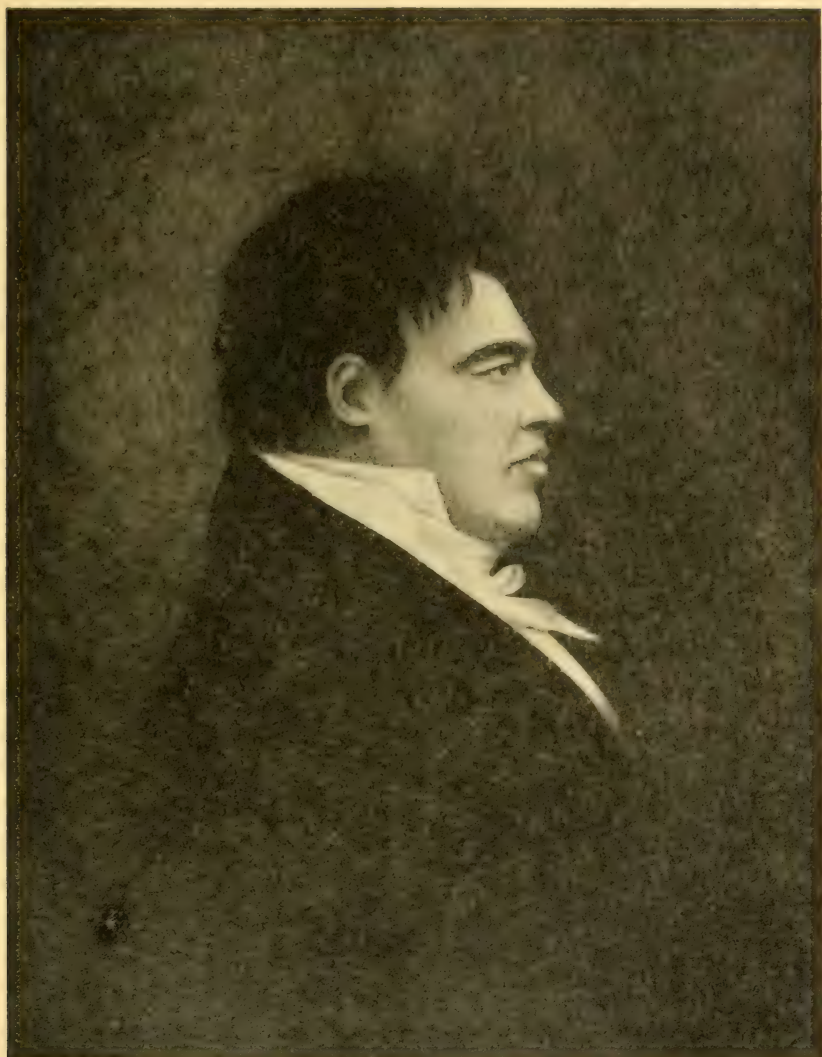
of the Rocky Mountains, although none of them were taken until after Lewis and Clark had returned from their long journey. The most important of these was the exploration of the Tacoutche Tesse River by Simon Fraser in 1808, since which time the river has borne his name. Fraser, like Mackenzie, was a Northwest Company fur trader and an even more daring explorer. Entering the service of the Company as a clerk, shortly after leaving school, he was soon advanced to a position of responsibility at Grand Portage. In 1806 he crossed the mountains and established a small post on McLeod's Lake, where a part of his command passed the winter. The following summer was spent in explorations in various directions, through a region to which he gave the name of New Caledonia. He also built another post on Stuart Lake, where he spent the second winter after leaving Grand Portage. Here he received letters from his associates urging him to push on toward the west, and if possible follow the Tacoutche Tesse to the sea. The suggestion was only too gladly accepted, and on the twenty-second of May, accompanied by Stuart his clerk, who was also a civil engineer, and therefore a most useful member of the party, a trapper named Quesnel, nineteen voyageurs and two Indians, in four canoes, he set out on one of the most adventurous and dangerous journeys ever undertaken. But to Fraser the "danger's self was lure alone." The river, as travelers by the Canadian Pacific Railroad now well know, flows through a considerable part of its course in a deep chasm formed by overhanging or perpendicular rocks. Through its tortuous channel the river dashes like a mountain torrent, interrupted here and there by projecting rocks, or tumbling over precipitous falls. Into this forbidding abyss the little flotilla boldly steered, and during the four

SIMON FRASER.

Copied from an enlargement of a small pastel drawing once in the possession of the Fraser family, but now the property of the provincial government of British Columbia.



of the Rocky Mountains, although none of them were taken until a few years later. The first of these long journeys was made by John A. Macdonald and his party in 1826. The next important one was the exploration of the Tacoutche-Teece River by Simon Fraser in 1808, since which time the river has borne his name. Fraser, like Macdonald, was a Northwest Company fur trader and an even more daring explorer. Entering the service of the Company as a clerk shortly after leaving school, he was soon advanced to a position of responsibility at Grand Portage. In 1806 he crossed the mountains and established a small post on McLeod's Lake, where a part of his command passed the winter. The following summer was spent in explorations in various directions, through a region to which he gave the name of New Caledonia. He also built another post on Stuart Lake, where he spent the second winter after leaving Grand Portage. Here he received letters from his associates urging him to push on toward the west, and if possible follow the Tacoutche-Teece to the sea. The suggestion was only too gladly accepted, and on the twenty-second of May, accompanied by Stuart his clerk, who was also a civil engineer, and therefore a most useful member of the party, a trapper named Quinlan, and two voyageurs and two Indians, in four canoes, he set out on one of the most adventurous and dangerous journeys ever undertaken. But to Fraser the "danger's self" was lure alone." The river, as travelers by the Canadian Pacific Railroad now well know, flows through a considerable part of its course in a deep channel formed by overhanging or perpendicular rocks. Through its tortuous channel the river dashes like a mountain torrent, interrupted here and there by projecting rocks, or tumbling over precipitous falls. How the forbidding abyss the little flotilla boldly ascended, and during the four



days succeeding, encountered perils from which their escape seems little less than miraculous. One of these Fraser describes as follows:

“Leaving Mr. Stuart and two men at the lower end of the rapid, in order to watch the motions of the natives, I returned with the other four men to the camp. Immediately on my arrival I ordered the five men out of the crews into a canoe lightly loaded, and the canoe was in a moment under way. After passing the first cascade she lost her course and was drawn into an eddy, whirled about for a considerable time, seemingly in suspense whether to sink or swim, the men having no power over her. However, she took a favorable turn, and by degrees was led from this dangerous vortex again into the stream. In this manner she continued, flying from one danger to another, until the last cascade but one, where in spite of every effort, the whirlpools forced her against a low projecting rock. Upon this the men debarked, saved their own lives, and continued to save the property, but the greatest difficulty was still ahead, and to continue by water would be the way to certain destruction.

“During this distressing scene, we were on the shore looking on and anxiously concerned; seeing our poor fellows once more safe afforded us as much satisfaction as to themselves, and we hastened to their assistance; but their situation rendered our approach perilous and difficult. The bank was exceedingly high and steep, and we had to plunge our daggers at intervals into the ground to check our speed, as otherwise we were exposed to slide into the river. We cut steps in the declivity, fastened a line to the front of the canoe, with which some of the men ascended in order to haul it up, while the others supported it upon their arms. In this manner our situation was most precarious; our lives hung, as it were,

upon a thread, as the failure of the line, or a false step of one of the men, might have hurled the whole of us into eternity. However, we fortunately cleared the bank before dark."

Every day brought its dangers, and the progress was very slow. Finding the navigation impossible, on the 26th Fraser says: "As for the road by land, we could scarcely make our way with even only our guns. I have been for a long period among the Rocky Mountains, but have never seen anything like this country. It is so wild that I cannot find words to describe our situation at times. We had to pass where no human being should venture; yet in those places there is a regular footpath impressed, or rather indented upon the very rocks by frequent travelling. Besides this, steps which are formed like a ladder by poles hanging to one another, crossed at certain distances with twigs, the whole suspended from the top, furnish a safe and convenient passage to the natives down these precipices; but we, who had not had the advantage of their education and experience, were often in imminent danger, when obliged to follow their example."

Finally on the 26th they left the river and after traveling for six days, they reached an arm of the sea, in which they noted the ebb and flow of the tide. Here they found the Indians so violently opposed to their progress that they were obliged to turn back, which they did, returning by the route they had come with less toil, and encountering fewer dangers than in their journey down stream.

By these expeditions of Mackenzie and Fraser, both subjects of Great Britain, that government acquired precisely the same claim of title to the valley of the Fraser and the country north of it that the United States acquired in the valley of the Columbia through the explorations of Lewis and Clark.

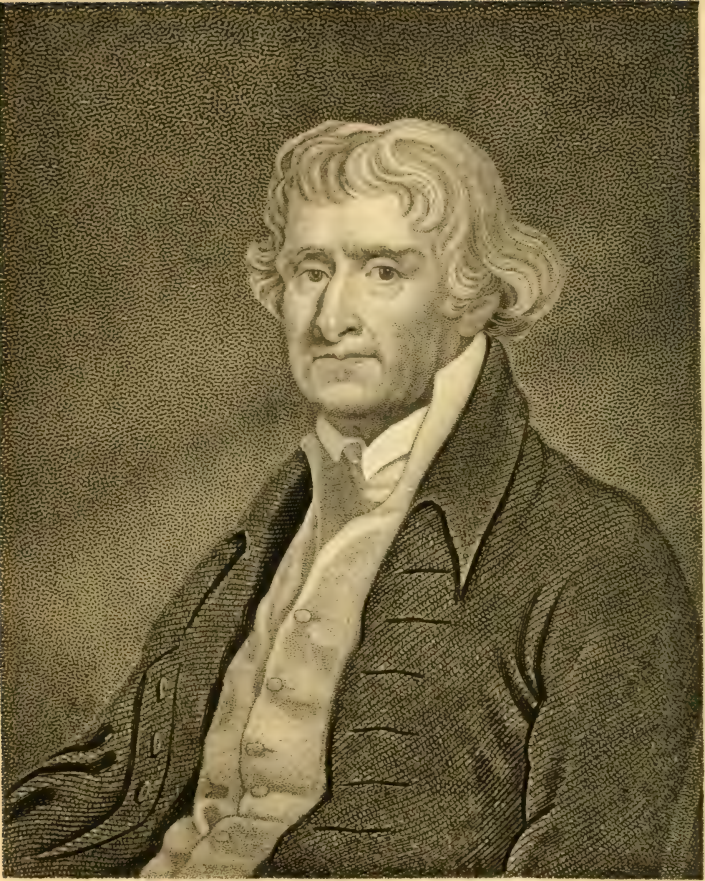
CHAPTER IX.

THOMAS JEFFERSON AND JOHN LEDYARD.

WE HAVE already noticed that President Jefferson was more surprised than gratified with the news that his representatives in Paris had purchased all of Louisiana. The vast transaction had not been of his seeking. Messrs. Livingston and Monroe had been authorized and instructed to buy a relatively small tract of land at the mouth of the Mississippi for \$2,000,000, and they had bought an empire. As to its value, particularly to the United States, Mr. Jefferson had no doubt, but of the authority of the United States to acquire such a vast domain he had the gravest doubt. In his view the makers of the Constitution had not contemplated any such acquisition, nor had it been thought of by the States when the Constitution was adopted and ratified. The Constitution was made for the States, and while it provided for the admission of new States, it did not contemplate the admission of whole foreign nations, or the annexation of foreign governments. "In his view," says Mr. McMaster, "Congress had but two kinds of powers, and no others; powers expressly delegated, and powers absolutely necessary to put such as are expressly delegated into execution." As no power of this kind had been expressly delegated, and as no pretense could be found in the way of a necessity to put into effect any power that had been delegated, there seemed to be nothing to do but to get the Constitution amended so as to justify the purchase, and any others, should they become necessary in future. But Mr. Jefferson's advisers were wiser than he in this respect, and much against his will apparently, he allowed them to persuade him that all that was really needed was a ratification of the treaty by the Senate, and the appropriation of the needful \$15,000.00 by the Congress.

But when this had been done and title passed, and the country really ours, Mr. Jefferson well knew what to do. Mr. George Bancroft well says of him that "whatever he had to do, it was his custom to prepare himself for it carefully." For the purchase itself he was wholly unprepared, and therefore in grave doubt as to what ought to be done. But for what now remained to do he had been preparing for many years, and more than all he had already begun to do it. He was as well informed as to the nature and value of the new territory, and of the region of country which lay beyond it, as reading of the books then in existence and reflection upon their contents could make him. Naturally studious, accustomed to carefully arrange and duly weigh all information of whatever character he received, especially when it pertained to the governmental experiment in which he had taken a profound interest from the beginning, he was now perhaps the only man who was fully prepared to act, and prompt action was of all things necessary.

How little the people of the United States generally knew of the country to which Gray's discovery had given them a first claim, and of the Louisiana country which they had just purchased, has already been pointed out. There were perhaps a few copies of Cook's report of his voyages then in the country, and fewer of Vancouver's. Cook's had been published in 1784; he had seen and named Cape Flattery, but no other part of the Oregon, or Washington of the present day. Vancouver's three quarto volumes, published in 1789, only five years previously, contained all that had so far been made public of Gray's discovery. Gray's employers knew of it, and had doubtless talked about it with their friends; John Ledyard, who had been a corporal of marines with Cook, had made fruitless efforts to awaken interest in the



THOMAS JEFFERSON.

From 1890 to 1911, a period of the United States from 1890 to 1911, during which the United States and the United Kingdom completed the Russo-Japanese war, the whole two years in the Russo-Japanese war. (See 1890 to 1911)

country, but that was all. The public generally was not interested, and possibly had all the information it cared for. There was no lack of land nearer home, and if there had ever been any suggestion that there ever would be any, the Louisiana purchase, now so securely made, seemed likely to more than supply all possible demands for generations to come.

But Thomas Jefferson was interested, and as president of the United States he could do something. As early as 1783 he had written General George Rogers Clark: "I find they have subscribed a very large sum of money in England for exploring the country from the Mississippi to California. They pretend that it is only to promote knowledge. I am afraid that they have thoughts of colonizing in that quarter. Some of us have been talking here, in a feeble way, of making an attempt to search that country; but I doubt whether we have enough of that kind of spirit to raise the money. How would you like to lead such a party? Though I am afraid our prospect is not worth asking the question."

In 1792, the very year that Gray sailed through the breakers into the Columbia, Jefferson urged the American Philosophical Society to send a couple of explorers across the mountains into the country where we now know the Columbia River takes its rise. The sum required to fit out such an expedition was not great, but nine years went by before it was provided. A young officer named Meriwether Lewis was selected as one of the two who were to undertake this perilous trip, and a Frenchman named André Michaux, a botanist of some repute, who had come over to this country in 1801 to study plants and trees, was the other. These two started away hopefully enough but they got no farther than Kentucky, where Michaux was overtaken by a letter from the French minister of the interior, who appears to have sent him to

this country, directing him to prosecute his studies in regions less remote from civilization. The expedition was accordingly abandoned, and Lewis returned to Washington to become, for a time, the president's private secretary.

The president, who wished the country explored, and his private secretary, who was ambitious to explore it, were now together and could lay their plans at their leisure. And they laid them to good purpose. The act to establish trading houses with the Indians was about to expire, and Congress would soon have to consider whether it should be renewed, modified or enlarged, and this opportunity was seized upon, as soon as the instructions to Livingston and Monroe were prepared, or perhaps while they were even yet in preparation, to send a confidential message to Congress, suggesting the advisability of sending out a small expedition to explore the country west of the Mississippi, with the view of developing trade with the Indians in that region. "The river Missouri," this message says, "and the Indians inhabiting it, are not as well known as is rendered desirable by their connection with the Mississippi, and consequently with us. It is, however, understood that the country on that river is inhabited by numerous tribes, who furnish great supplies of furs and peltry to the trade of another nation, carried on in high latitudes through an infinite number of portages, and lakes shut up by ice through a long season. The commerce on that line could bear no competition with that of the Missouri, traversing a moderate climate, offering, according to the best accounts, a continued navigation from its source, and possibly with a single portage from the Western Ocean, and finding to the Atlantic a choice of channels through the Illinois or Wabash, the Lakes and Hudson, through the Ohio and Susquehanna, or Potomac or James rivers, and through the

Tennessee and Savannah rivers. An intelligent officer, with ten or twelve chosen men, fit for the enterprise and willing to undertake it, taken from our posts where they may be spared without inconvenience, might explore the whole line, even to the Western Ocean, have conferences with the natives on the subject of commercial intercourse, get admission among them for our traders, as others are admitted, agree on convenient deposits for an interchange of articles, and return with the information acquired, in the course of two summers. Their arms and accouterments, some instruments of observation, and light and cheap presents for the Indians, would be all the apparatus they could carry, and with an expectation of a soldier's portion of land on their return, would constitute the whole expense. Their pay would be going on whether here or there. While other civilized nations have encountered great expense to enlarge the boundaries of knowledge by undertaking voyages of discovery, and for other literary purposes, in various parts and directions, our nation seems to owe to the same object, as well as to its own interests, to explore this the only line of easy communication across the continent, and so directly traversing our own port of it. The interests of commerce place the principal object within the constitutional powers and care of Congress, and that it should incidentally advance the geographical knowledge of our own continent can not but be an additional gratification. The nation claiming the territory, regarding this as a literary pursuit, which it is in the habit of permitting within its dominions, would not be disposed to view it with jealousy, even if the expiring state of its interests there did not render it a matter of indifference."

An appropriation of \$2,500 for the purpose was suggested, and that sum was readily voted. Preparations for the great

enterprise were immediately begun, and by July 1st, when the news that all of Louisiana, instead of a very small part of it, had been purchased, Lewis and Clark were ready to start on their long journey.

It was exceedingly fortunate that measures had been thus so promptly taken to get this great exploration started, and for it we are indebted to the foresight of Thomas Jefferson, more than to all other causes, not excepting the ambitious and adventurous desires of his private secretary. There had been a third person, who, had he been living, would have entered joyfully and energetically into their deliberations, but he had some years previously gone to "that undiscovered country" whence no explorer ever returns. This was John Ledyard, the corporal of marines in Cook's third expedition, of whom mention has already been made. We cannot suppose that this strange character had been wholly responsible for arousing Mr. Jefferson's interest in the country lying west of the Mississippi, and particularly in that part of it bordering on the Pacific, but there can be no doubt that he had done much to stimulate and increase it. Jefferson had first met Ledyard in Paris in 1786, which was nearly three years after he had written the letter to Clark above quoted, and he has left this account of a meeting, which led subsequently to a rather intimate acquaintance: "When I was in Paris, John Ledyard of Connecticut arrived there, well known in America for energy of body and mind. He had accompanied Captain Cook on his voyage to the Pacific Ocean, and distinguished himself on that voyage for intrepidity. Being of a roaming disposition, he was now panting for some new enterprise. His immediate object at Paris was to engage some mercantile company in the trade of the Western Coast of America, in which, however, he failed.

I then proposed to him to go by land to Kamtchatka, cross in some of the Russian vessels to Nootka Sound, fall down into the latitude of the Missouri, and penetrate to and through that to the United States. He eagerly seized upon the idea and only asked to be assured of the permission of the Russian Government."

Ledyard was one of those curious characters who strive mightily in this world, but accomplish little in their own time; who live in the future rather than the present; who clearly comprehend the great things that may be accomplished, but are wholly incompetent to arrange the means for accomplishing even much simpler undertakings; who make all manner of sacrifices, and dare all sorts of dangers to promote some great purpose they have in view, and finally sink into their graves and are soon forgotten, though future generations reap tremendous benefits from their labors. Such were John Fitch and William Longstreet, who struggled hard in their day to make people believe that steamboats were possible, and William Kelly, the real inventor of the Bessemer process of making steel, and that marquis of Worcester, who, in the time of Charles II, built a rude sort of steam engine, which he called a "fire water work," and which the people of the time looked upon with awe, as a contrivance of the Evil One himself. But every one of these was more provident, so far as his own affairs were concerned, than Ledyard, who would have died of starvation long before he did, but for the liberality of his admirers. These saw how absorbed he was in his great idea—his ambition to win "a small degree of honest fame," and had pity on him, and in that pity helped him to make sacrifices that they would have shuddered at, could they have realized what they were to be. One of these was Mr. Jefferson, of whom Ledyard

often speaks as "our minister, who is a brother to me." He sometimes speaks of him also as his father, and it is evident from the letters both have left, that Ledyard often called at the embassy, dined there more or less frequently, and that Mr. Jefferson took much interest in his conversation, the favorite subject of which was the exploration of our northwest coast.

In order that the reader may more fully understand how curious this intimacy was between the minister and this strangely intense and interesting character, some account of his eccentricities is necessary.

John Ledyard was born in Groton, Connecticut, in 1751. His mother was early left a widow, but was anxious to send her son to college, and her ambition was that he should enter the ministry. He seems to have been quite willing to gratify her wishes in this respect, and accordingly, at the age of twenty-one, he was sent to Dartmouth College, an institution which had been founded by Dr. Wheelock, who was still its president, for the special purpose, among others, of educating Indians, and training up those who were to be missionaries among them. Ledyard began the study of theology and expected to become a missionary, but the irregularity of his conduct, and his total disregard of college rules, brought him into no end of difficulties with the good Dr. Wheelock and other members of the faculty. He was in no respect vicious, nor did he disregard the discipline of the institution intentionally, but he seemed to be wholly incapable of conducting himself in any regular manner. At one time he disappeared from the institution and was gone for several months, and could give no reasonable explanation of his absence on his return. It was charitably concluded, however, that he had spent the time with the Indians, in order to

prepare himself for work among them, and he was reinstated in his classes. He made but little progress with his studies, and early in the spring it was discovered that he was spending a good deal of time in constructing a canoe in the woods. When it was finished he again disappeared and set out on a voyage down the Connecticut River, taking with him but two books, one of which was a Greek Testament. While reading this, as he was floating leisurely down the stream, he was nearly carried over the cataract at Bellows Falls, of the existence of which he was apparently not acquainted. He finished his journey in safety, however, and in time, astonished his relatives by arriving in his quaint craft on the bank of the river near their home.

It was now evident that he could not be allowed to remain at college, and he was accordingly sent to study theology with various ministers, but although he pursued his studies with some diligence, no one of those with whom he studied was ever willing to recommend him for ordination, because of the irregularity of his methods and his lack of preparation.

After spending some months, living in his desultory way with relatives and acquaintances in Connecticut and on Long Island, he concluded to go to sea, as a common sailor, and accordingly shipped with Captain Deshon for Gibraltar and was absent a year. Upon his return he concluded to go to England, and visit some relatives of whom he had heard, and who were supposed to be quite well to do. Upon arriving there he found himself to be wholly unacquainted with these relatives, and one of them asked him for some identification, which gave him so much offense that he instantly turned on his heel and left the place, and would never return, although he was earnestly solicited to do so.

Being now without friends and among strangers, he went to London where he was, for a considerable time, in actual want. Finally he learned of the expedition of Captain Cook to the South Sea and the northwest coast of America, which was then in preparation. To this he offered his services and was accepted as a corporal of marines.

During this long voyage he kept a journal in which he noted accurately his most interesting experiences, and particularly his observations of the natives in the various countries which he visited. Of these he was most interested in those found on the American coast.

But in addition to the interest he felt in these natives, he was greatly impressed with the possibility of trade in furs, that might be built up on this coast. Jared Sparks, his biographer, says he was the first, whether in Europe or America, to propose a voyage for fur trading as a mercantile enterprise, and Ledyard himself says: "The light in which this country appears most to advantage respects the variety of its animals, and the richness of their furs. They have foxes, sables, hares, deer, moose, dogs, otters, beavers, wolves and a species of weasel called the glutton. The skins of this animal were sold at Kamtchatka, a Russian factory on the Asiatic coast, for sixty rubles, which is near twelve guineas, and had it been sold in China it would have been worth thirty guineas."

After passing Nootka and touching Unalaska, it was learned that some white men were living in the interior, and Ledyard undertook to make a two days' journey alone into the woods in search of them. Accompanied only by Indian guides he made his journey into the interior, where he found a party of Russians, living in wooden huts of a more or less permanent character. They received him kindly, and as

he was nearly starved, fed him bountifully, and he ate so much fat meat and fish, that he was taken seriously ill during the evening, very much to the concern of his hosts. Although he could understand nothing of their language, he was able to learn by observation that they were collecting a considerable supply of very valuable skins, and that a considerable trade in them was already beginning to be established with the Asiatic coast. He was one of the members of Cook's party who profited greatly by purchasing a few skins, at the various points where the ships touched on the American coast, and afterwards selling them to the Russians and Chinese in Asia, at a most surprising profit.

Upon his return to England he applied to be made historian of the voyage, but was not successful. Even the journals which he himself had kept, were taken away from him. Being without other resources, he entered the English navy, stipulating, however, that he was not to be required to fight against the Americans, but in 1782 he was sent to the American squadron, and in December of that year he was at Huntington Bay, Long Island, in a region where he was thoroughly well acquainted. He soon found a favorable opportunity to desert, and did so, finding refuge in a boarding house which his own mother was keeping.

For a time he was made welcome by his many acquaintances, and seems to have enjoyed himself thoroughly. "I have a little cash," he wrote to a friend, "two coats, three waistcoats, six pairs of stockings, and half a dozen shirts. . . . I eat and drink when I am asked, and visit when I am invited. In short I generally do as I am bid. All I want of my friends is friendship. Possessing that I am happy."

During the time that he was thus enjoying himself, he wrote, from memory, an account of his voyage with Cook,

which found ready sale, as but little was known at that time of the great voyage, and people everywhere were anxious to learn of it. His book was published in 1783, a year earlier than the official journal of the voyage was allowed by the British admiralty to appear. It is possible that his book did more than any other one thing, except the personal efforts of Ledyard himself, to stimulate interest in the fur trade of our northwest coast.

He now began a persistent effort to induce somebody to provide funds for a fur-trading venture, and during the following three years he went from city to city, talking to all who would listen, and particularly to merchants and ship owners, of the great possibilities of this trade. He at one time attempted to interest Robert Morris in the undertaking, and was given some encouragement at first, but nothing came of it. The owners of an American vessel at Boston, and of a French ship at New London, were appealed to, and for a time seemed to think favorably of his proposition, but finally concluded not to embark in it. At New London he found his old friend Captain Deshon, and nearly persuaded him to try a venture on the North Pacific Coast, but as the others had done, he finally abandoned the matter, though he afterwards admitted that he had made a great mistake in doing so. Having wearied of his repeated failures in this country, Ledyard finally determined to try his success in Europe, and in June 1784 sailed for Cadiz. This was the year Kendrick began to make his preparations to sail to Nootka. Whether he and those with him got their suggestions from Ledyard or not, it is now impossible to know. In Europe, he was as persistent as he had been at home, in his efforts to interest people in the northwest coast, and not more successful. Many listened to him, seemed to be almost persuaded, and

finally gave the matter up. Among these was Lieutenant Quimper, who was found at Brest, and who joined him in attempting to interest a French house, and they were so far successful that a ship was procured, and almost made ready to sail, when the undertaking was suddenly and finally abandoned. From Brest, Ledyard went to Paris, where he met Mr. Jefferson, who was then representing the American colonies at the French court, and with whom he had many conversations on the subject of his voyage, and who always listened to him with the profoundest interest. Besides Jefferson, Ledyard met many other distinguished men in the French capital, among them being the Marquis LaFayette and John Paul Jones. With the latter he formed a firm and lasting friendship. Jones was then expecting to receive a very considerable sum of prize money. He readily entered into Ledyard's plans, and it was agreed by them that as soon as the money expected was received, a ship should be fitted out, to sail at once to the northwest coast. They hoped to found a great fur-trading company with French capital. The plan was that Ledyard was to spend the first six months on the coast in collecting furs, and looking out for suitable places to establish trading posts. A small vessel was then to be built in which he was to be left, with a surgeon and twenty soldiers, while Jones should take the furs collected to China and sell them, loading his ship with silks and teas, and continue his voyage around the Cape of Good Hope to Europe or the United States, where he was to procure a fresh cargo of articles suitable for the Indian trade, and return as quickly as possible by the way of Cape Horn to the Pacific. This was precisely the plan the Boston fur traders finally adopted.

But Jones did not get his money as promptly as expected, and the expedition of La Perouse, having returned without

practical result, their plans for interesting French capital wholly failed, and Ledyard went to London. He remained there for a considerable time without occupation, without money and almost without friends. He persisted in his efforts to interest everybody whose acquaintance he made, who had means for such an undertaking, but without success. "I die with anxiety to be on the back of the American states," he wrote to a friend, "after having either come from, or penetrated to, the Pacific Ocean. There is an extensive field for the acquirement of honest fame. A blush of generous regret sits on my cheek when I hear of any discovery there, which I have had no part in, and particularly at this auspicious period. The American revolution invites to a thorough discovery of the continent, and the honor of doing it would become a foreigner, but a native can only feel the genuine pleasure of the achievement. It was necessary that Europeans should discover the existence of that continent, but in the name of *Amor Patriae*, let a native explore its resources and boundaries. It is my wish to be the man. I will not yet resign that wish, nor my pretensions to the distinction."

In course of time, he found an English ship about ready to sail for the Pacific Ocean, to which he so much desired to return. Through a friend he was introduced to the owners, who immediately offered him free passage, with the promise that he should be set on shore at any place on the northwest coast he might choose. This offer was most gratefully accepted, for Ledyard's sole ambition now was to get to the coast, in order that he might explore it, alone if it could be done in no other way. He seems to have had no thought that he would need any preparation for making such a journey. All he asked was to be set down alone in the wilderness, among the Indians, with an equipment of two

MAP OF OUR WESTERN TERRITORIES.

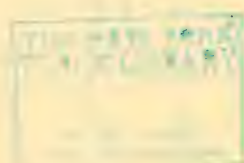
Part of government map, showing the boundaries between the Louisiana purchase, Oregon, Texas, and the territories acquired from Mexico.



present made such plans for increasing French capital chiefly failed, and Lockwood went to London. He remained there for a considerable time without occupation, without money and almost without friends. He persisted in his efforts to attract sympathy, whose acquaintance he made, who had means for such an undertaking, but without success. "I live with anxiety as to the state of the American states," he wrote in a letter. "I have having either come from, or returned to, the Pacific Ocean. There is an extensive field for the acquisition of human lore. A linen of genuine copper ore is not found where I hear of any discovery there, where there is no prospect of gold particularly as disapprobation grows. The discovery of copper ore is a dangerous discovery of the moment, and the honor of doing it would belong to the discoverer, but a talent not only find the greatest discovery of the achievement. It was necessary that European should discover the treasure of that continent, but in the name of the Pacific, he cannot capture the resources and boundaries. It is not said to be the case. I will not yet resign that mine, and we proceeded to the discovery."

In August of 1841, he went to England, very soon ready to sail for the Pacific Ocean, he wished to do much desired to return. Through a friend he had introduced to the owner, who immediately agreed to his passage, with the promise that he should be set on shore at any place on the northern coast he might choose. This offer was most gratefully accepted, for Lockwood's sole ambition now was to go to the spot, to realize that he might explore it, alone if it could be done in no other way. He seems to have had no doubt that he would need no preparation for making such a voyage. All he asked was to be set down alone in the wilderness, among the Indians, with an equipment of two





dogs, an Indian pipe, and a hatchet, with which he was thoroughly convinced he would be able to make his way up and down the continent until he should gain a sufficient knowledge of it, and then cross it by land to civilization again. The dogs would be his companions, and assist him in taking wild animals for food. The pipe was an emblem of peace to the Indians, and the hatchet would serve many purposes of convenience and utility.

His plans were fully arranged before entering the ship. He determined to land at Nootka, where he had passed some time with Cook, and thence strike into the interior, and after making such explorations as to satisfy him, to turn eastward and pursue his course as fortune should guide him, to Virginia. This undertaking he calculated would employ him for fully three years. It was in this way that he now hoped to win "a fair share of honest fame." He was so confident that his opportunity was at hand that his enthusiasm rose to the highest pitch, and his impatience to be gone increased with every movement. But again he was doomed to disappointment. The ship sailed, but had scarcely left the harbor when it was recalled and the expedition abandoned.

Again Ledyard was left in the great city without resources, but as at Paris, he actually suffered for nothing. He had already made the acquaintance of a few generous friends, who saw to it that he was not left without sufficient means for his absolute wants. One of these, a Colonel Smith, had thus written to Mr. Jay after Ledyard had embarked, as he supposed for his trip to the coast: "It is a daring, wild attempt. Determined to pursue the object, he embarked last week, free and independent of the world, pursuing his plan unembarrassed by contract or obligation. If he succeeds, and in the course of two or three years should visit

our country by this amazing circuit, he may bring with him some interesting information. If he fails, and is never heard of more, which I think most probable, there is no harm done. He dies in an unknown country, and if he composes himself in his last moments, with the reflection that his project was great, and the undertaking what few men are capable of, it will to his mind soothe the passage."

Ledyard now determined to attempt to reach our northwest coast by a long trip on foot through Siberia. The possibility of doing this, he had frequently discussed with Mr. Jefferson, while in Paris, and some attempt had been made to procure, from the Empress Catherine, a passport that would permit him to make the journey through her dominions. A small purse was made up for him by his London friends, and he set off, panting to get into a country where money was unknown, and where the want of it would not be felt. He went from London to Hamburg, and thence to Copenhagen, where he met another American traveler, as improvident as himself, to whom he gave a large part of the money that his London friends had left for him. He now had so little left that his only hope of reaching St. Petersburg was to go on foot. He crossed over to Sweden, in the hope of being able to make his way across the Gulf of Bothnia on the ice. It was now January, and the season was intensely cold, but the gulf was not entirely frozen over. In the middle of it was an open channel some miles in width, and the ice on either side of it was so crushed and broken up by violent storms, that it was almost impossible to make any progress over it. But Ledyard was not disheartened by this circumstance. Since he could not go across the gulf he would go around it. This meant a walk of more than twelve hundred miles, over trackless snows, in a region thinly peopled, where

the nights are long and the cold intense. He set out alone, without money or friends, on a road unfrequented at that frightful season, and with the gloomy certainty resting on his mind that he must travel northward six hundred miles before he could turn toward a milder climate. A traveler who had had experience in this country which he was now to traverse, had said of it: "At the town of Tornea we arrived on the 30th of December. It had really a most frightful aspect. Its little houses were buried to the top in snow, which, if it had been daylight, must have effectually shut it out. But the snows continually falling, or ready to fall, for the most part hid the sun the few moments that he might have showed himself at midday. In the month of January the cold was increased to the extremity, that Réaumur's mercurial thermometers, which in Paris, in the great frost of 1709, it was thought strange to see fall to fourteen degrees below the freezing point, were now down to thirty-seven. The spirit of wine in the others was frozen. If we opened the door of a warm room the external air instantly converted all the air in it to snow, whirling it around in white vortexes. If we went abroad we felt as if the air were tearing our breasts to pieces, and the cracking of the wood whereof the houses were built, as if the violence of the cold split it, continually alarmed us with approaching increase of cold. The solitude of the streets was no less than if the inhabitants had all been dead; and in this country you may often see people that have been maimed, and have a leg or an arm frozen off. The cold, which is of course very great, increases sometimes by such violent and sudden fits as are almost invariably fatal to those that happen to be exposed to it. Sometimes there arise sudden tempests of snow, that are still more dangerous. The wind seems to blow from all quarters at once, and drive about

the snow with such fury, that in a moment all the roads are lost. Unhappy he who is seized by such a storm in the fields. His acquaintance with the country, or with the marks he may have taken by the trees, cannot avail him. He is blinded by the snow and lost if he stirs but a step."

Thus in cold that even a Laplander would scarcely have braved, Ledyard set out on this twelve-hundred-mile journey, through an unknown country. Strange to say, he arrived in safety at St. Petersburg, where, after waiting for some weeks, he managed to procure from the empress the much-desired passport, and set off to make his journey of seven thousand miles on foot, through Siberia to Bering Sea. He had nearly accomplished it when, very much to his surprise, he was arrested by order of the empress, and compelled to return to St. Petersburg. His plans for exploration were thus dashed. They were finally and reluctantly abandoned. He returned to Paris where he subsequently undertook a voyage, scarcely less hopeless of result, to make explorations in Africa and from this he never returned.

We cannot doubt that Mr. Jefferson owed to his acquaintance with this strange man a large share of his interest in, and perhaps a considerable part of his information about, the country that was now about to be explored. It is true that he had never set foot in it, but he had seen something of the country far to the north of it and found it inviting. That lying south of it must be far better. It was seemingly rich in timber, and certainly rich in furs, and Captain Gray had demonstrated that there was a great river in it that would, in that time when rivers were so necessary as a means of transportation, certainly prove to be useful in its development, but especially valuable as an outlet for trade with the interior and across the continent.

That river, and the country drained by it, however large or small it might be, was already ours by discovery. But that claim might be forfeited by neglect. There was imminent need to establish a new claim to it by exploration, and the preparations to make that exploration, thanks to the enthusiasm of a most eccentric character, and the wisdom and foresight of a great statesman, were already completed.

CHAPTER X.

LEWIS AND CLARK.

THE Lewis and Clark expedition, which had been prepared to explore an unknown country belonging to a foreign power, was now to do the work for its own government. Public interest in the undertaking was greatly increased. Many thought it a desperate and foolhardy enterprise, from which little benefit might be expected, and professed to believe that those who were about to engage in it would never again be heard from after they had entered the wilderness. There were sensation mongers in those days as well as in present times, although they were without the convenient means of present times for spreading their alarming fancies. These pictured in as gloomy colors as the means of their time would permit, "the confused march forlorn of the adventurous bands . . . through a dark and dreary vale":—

" . . . and many a region dolorous,
O'er many a frozen, many a fiery alp.
Rocks, caves, lakes, fens, bogs, dens, and shades of death,
A universe of death, which Good by curse
Created evil, for evil only good,
Where all life dies, death lives and nature breeds
Perverse all monstrous, all prodigious things,
Abominable, unutterable, and worse
Than fables yet have famed or fear conceived,
Gorgons and Hydras and Chimeras dire."

Some who did not participate in these gloomy forebodings, made light of the enterprise, and sneeringly said it was sent out in the hope of finding living mastodons, and other animals long supposed to be extinct, and all sorts of impossible natural wonders, including salt mountains, and "men whose heads do grow beneath their shoulders." Most of those who approved it did so for political reasons, rather than because

they believed that any real advantage would result from it. All felt that interest in the explorers which all feel for those who engage in enterprises requiring courage and endurance, and in which they expose themselves to great hardships and to unseen and unknown dangers, but as an undertaking it was far from being as popular as it deserved to be, or as it would have been if any considerable number of people could have guessed what it was to accomplish.

From the moment of his appointment to command the expedition until the fifth day of July 1803, Captain Lewis was busily employed with preparations for his long journey. Previous to his appointment, and while he was still private secretary to the president, he had prepared the following estimate, which had been submitted to Congress with the president's message recommending the appropriation:

Mathematical instruments	\$ 217
Arms and accouterments extraordinary	81
Camp equipage	255
Medicine and packing	55
Means of transportation	430
Indian presents	696
Provisions extraordinary	224
Materials for making packs	55
Pay of hunters, guides and interpreters	300
Coin for expenses Nashville to last white settlement ..	100
Contingencies	87

\$2,500

This modest sum having been appropriated, Captain Lewis gave his personal attention to the purchase of such parts of the outfit as could be most economically procured in the East. He also went to Philadelphia, where he spent



Meriwether Lewis

JEWELL BENTSWORTH

some weeks, under a competent teacher, by familiarizing himself with the use of the instrument, and by necessary observation, and by the aid of the teacher's instruction. He next went to Lancaster, where he remained, until the completion and perfection of the arm, which he had specially ordered to be made; and here he also had daily conferences with an experienced woodman, Mr. Andrew Elliott, who, as Mr. Jefferson informs us, "apprised him of the wants and difficulties he would encounter" and of such means as he had himself used to combat and overcome them.

Such forethought showed, at every degree, his fitness for the responsibility he had assumed. He was not without experience in command, or acquaintance with life in the wilderness and among the Indians, although he was not yet quite thirty years old. He was born near Charlottesville, Va., August 18, 1774. His family had been related by marriage to the Washingtons, and had been conspicuous for the warm and patriotic interest it had taken in the revolution. As a boy he had displayed a bold and adventurous disposition. When only eight years of age he had been accustomed to roam through the forest, accompanied only by his dog, at all hours of the day and night, in search of recreation. At twenty he had entered as a volunteer in the militia called out by General Washington to suppress the whisky rebellion in western Pennsylvania, and from that employment he was advanced to the regular service as a lieutenant in the line. At twenty-three he was promoted to captain. President Jefferson has said of him that he was a man "of courage undaunted; possessing a firmness and perseverance of purpose which nothing but insuperable difficulties could have diverted from its direction; careful as a father of those committed to

MERIWETHER LEWIS.

Born in Virginia August 18, 1774; captain in the regular army 1795; private secretary to President Jefferson 1801; commander of the Lewis and Clark expedition 1803-1806; governor of the territory of Missouri 1827; died October 8, 1829.



Meriwether Lewis

some weeks, under a competent teacher, in familiarizing himself with the use of instruments for making the necessary observations, and calculating latitude and longitude. He next went to Lancaster, where he gave some attention to the completion and perfection of the arms, which he had specially ordered to be made, and here he also had daily conferences with an experienced woodsman, Mr. Andrew Ellicott, who, as Mr. Jefferson informs us, "apprised him of the wants and difficulties he would encounter" and of such means as he had himself used to combat and overcome them.

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his charge, yet steady in the maintenance of order and discipline; intimate with the Indian character, customs and principles; habituated to the hunting life; guarded, by exact observations of the vegetables and animals of his own country, against losing time in the description of objects already possessed; honest, disinterested, reliable, of sound understanding and a fidelity to truth so scrupulous that whatever he should report would be as certain as if seen by ourselves; with all these qualifications, as if selected and implanted by nature in one body for this express purpose, I could have no hesitation in confiding the enterprise to him."

Captain Lewis realized from the beginning that it would be desirable to have with him in the command of the expedition, another man on whose abilities he could confidently rely, and with whom he could divide the responsibilities of the undertaking. For such a man he had not far to seek. Early in his experience as a soldier he had met and been under the command of Lieutenant William Clark, a brother of the more famous George Rogers Clark, who had served with so much distinction in the West during the revolution. Lieutenant Clark was no longer in the army, having resigned therefrom in July 1796, on account of ill health, and was then living on a farm in Kentucky near where the present city of Louisville now stands, where his brother, George Rogers, had at one time built a fort, on what was then known as "the dark and bloody ground." He was four years older than Lewis, having been born August 1st, 1770, in Caroline County, Va.

To him Lewis wrote immediately after his own appointment, offering to have him appointed as his companion in command, with rank and authority equal to his own. The proposition was accepted, but Lewis was not able to carry

out the promises he had made. The authorities at Washington could not understand how a military command could be divided between two persons of equal ability, who knew each other thoroughly and wished to share the honors as well as the responsibilities and hardships of the undertaking equally. They accordingly appointed Clark a second lieutenant of artillery. His commission as such he did not receive until the expedition was about to start from its winter quarters on the Mississippi, in the spring of 1804, and as it was then too late to open correspondence with the war department in regard to the matter, as in those days it required a week, or perhaps more for a letter to reach Washington, and an equal time for a reply to return, he concluded to rely upon the promise made him by Lewis, and accept the situation as he found it. And this he did.*

The instructions for the expedition were prepared by Mr. Jefferson himself, and are addressed "to Meriweather Lewis, Esq., Captain of the First Regiment of Infantry, etc." After giving such directions as were necessary for outfitting the expedition, he is informed that its object is "to explore the Missouri River, and such principal streams of it, as by its

*It was for a long time supposed that Lewis and Clark both carried commissions as captains in the army, entitling them to equal rank, but Mr. Elliot Coues, in his memoir of William Clark, in the introduction to his "history of the expedition under the command of Lewis and Clark," has published a letter written by Clark himself to Mr. Nicholas Biddle, in which the facts are recited as above. Captain Clark says: "I had reason to expect captain of engineers. A few days before we set out, I received a commission of second lieutenant of artillerist dated March 26, 1804. My feelings on this occasion was, as might have been expected. I wished the expedition success, and from the assurances of Captain Lewis, that in every respect my situation, command, etc., would be equal to his; viewing the commission as nearly calculated to authorize punishment to the soldiers if necessary, I proceeded. No difficulty took place on our route relative to this point."

course and communication with the waters of the Pacific Ocean, whether the Columbia, Oregon, Colorado or any other river named, may offer the most direct and practicable water communication across the continent, for the purposes of commerce." Specific directions as to the route he is to pursue, the observations he is to make, the places he is to mark, and as to the keeping of an accurate journal are then given. He is directed to note carefully the needs of the various Indian tribes, the extent and limits of their possessions, and their relations with other tribes; their language, traditions and monuments; their occupations in agriculture, fishing, hunting, war, arts, and the implements for these; their food, clothing and domestic accommodations; the diseases prevalent among them, and the remedies they use; the moral and physical circumstances that distinguish them from the tribes we know; the peculiarities in their customs and dispositions; the articles of commerce they may need, and the state of morality, religion and information that may prevail among them. He is also to observe the general character of the country visited; its soil, its vegetable and mineral productions, especially if any are found that were not then known in the United States; also the animals of the country, and the remains and accounts of any which may be deemed rare or extinct. He was also to make observations in regard to the climate, and the dates at which particular plants put forth their leaves and flowers, and the time of the appearance of particular birds, reptiles or insects. He was particularly instructed to treat the Indians in a friendly and conciliatory manner, and make them acquainted with "the position, extent, character, peaceable and commercial dispositions of the United States."

As it was not possible to prescribe the exact degree of risk which the party might take upon itself, in case its journey should be opposed by the Indians, or other people encountered. The instructions say: "Your numbers will be sufficient to secure you against the unauthorized opposition of individuals, or of small parties; but if a superior force, authorized or unauthorized, by a nation, should be arrayed against your further passage, and inflexibly determined to arrest it, you must decline its further pursuit and return. In the loss of yourselves, we should lose also the information you will have acquired. By returning safely with that, you may enable us to renew the essay with better calculated means. To your own discretion, therefore, must be left the degree of danger you may risk."

After reaching the Pacific Ocean Lewis was directed to inform himself "of the circumstances which may decide whether the furs of those parts may not be collected as advantageously at the headwaters of the Missouri—convenient, as is supposed, to the waters of the Colorado and Oregon or Columbia—as at Nootka Sound, or any other point of that coast: and that trade be consequently conducted through the Missouri and United States more beneficially, than by the circumnavigation now practiced." He was also to ascertain, if possible, whether there was any port in the neighborhood, frequented by the vessels of any nation, and if he found any such he was to send two people back by sea, with a copy of his journal. If he should think the return of the whole party by land to be unusually dangerous, or impracticable for any reason, they might all return by ship, by the way of Cape Horn, or by that of Good Hope. For that purpose, or any other, he was authorized to make his

draft on the United States for so much money as might be necessary.

In case of his death he was authorized "by any instrument signed and written in your own hand, to name the person who shall succeed to the command on your decease, and by like instrument to change the nomination from time to time, as further experience of the characters accompanying you shall point out superior fitness; and all the powers and authority given to yourself, are in the event of your death, transferred to and fixed in the successor so named, with further power to him and his successors, in like manner, to name each his successor, who on the death of his predecessor shall be vested with all the powers given to yourself."

The enlisted soldiers who were to accompany the expedition were to be selected from the military stations on the Ohio. Only such were to be taken as should volunteer for the service, but more offered to go than could be accepted. When finally assembled the party, in addition to the two commanders, consisted of nine young men from Kentucky, fourteen soldiers, two French watermen, Cruzatte and Labiche, an interpreter and hunter named Drewyer, and York, a black servant belonging to Captain Clark. All these except the last were enlisted to serve as privates during the expedition, and three sergeants, Floyd, Ordway and Pryor, were appointed from among them by the captains. In addition to these, a corporal and six soldiers, and nine watermen were engaged to accompany the expedition as far as the Mandan Nation on the upper Missouri, to assist in carrying the stores, or in repelling an attack, if any should be made, on the party while traveling through that dangerous part of their journey. The necessary stores were packed into seven

bales and one box, each of which contained a small portion of each article in case of accident. These stores were composed of a small variety of clothing, working utensils, locks for guns, flints, as all guns had flint locks at that time, powder, lead for bullets, and similar articles for which they would have greatest use. To these were added fourteen bales and one box of Indian presents, distributed in the same manner, and composed for the most part of richly laced coats and other articles of dress, medals, flags, knives and tomahawks for the chiefs, with a great variety of ornaments of different kinds, particularly paints, looking glasses and handkerchiefs.

It was the intention of the party originally to pass the winter of 1803-4 at La Charette, the farthest settlement up the Missouri, but the Spanish governor of the province opposed this, as he had not yet received official notice of its transfer to the United States, and was obliged by the general policy of his government to prevent strangers from passing through its territory. The party accordingly fixed its camp at the mouth of Wood, now Dubois River, on the eastern side of the Mississippi, nearly opposite the mouth of the Missouri, where they passed the winter in making the necessary preparations to set out early in the spring.

These preparations were not completed until the afternoon of Monday, May 14, 1804. It was four o'clock of the afternoon on that day when the party embarked on board of three boats. The first was a keel boat, fifty-five feet long, drawing three feet of water, and carrying one large square sail and twenty-two oars. A deck of ten feet at the bow and stern formed a forecastle and cabin, while the middle was covered by lockers which might be raised to form a breastwork in case of attack. This large boat was accompanied by two

open boats called pirogues, one of six and the other of seven oars. Two horses were at the same time led along the banks of the river, for the purposes of bringing home game, or hunting in case of scarcity.

Captain Lewis was not with the party when it started. He had been obliged to go to St. Louis and had been detained there. He did not overtake the boats until the 22d, but all went well meantime.

Progress up the river was naturally slow. The current was strong, and the channel frequently obstructed by sunken logs which could not be readily seen through the muddy water. The boats often went aground, or were more or less injured by contact with other obstructions, and the party were one hundred and sixty-five days in reaching a point on the upper Missouri, a short distance north of the present city of Bismarck, where they had early determined to fix their winter quarters.

They arrived here on October 27th. On their way they had met and conferred with the chiefs of nearly all the Indian tribes living near the river, and had made them acquainted with their good intentions toward them, and with the general purposes of their trip. They had also informed them that they were now under the general jurisdiction of the United States government, which desired that their country should be opened to American traders as early as possible; that the president hoped these would be received among them in a friendly manner, and that their intercourse with them might be mutually profitable. They were also counseled to cease to make war upon each other, and the good offices of the party were always tendered to every tribe, where there was occasion to do so, to assist them in making peace with their neighbors.

The message which they bore was everywhere well received. The Indians generally promised to accept the good advice thus offered, and everywhere displayed not only a willingness but anxiety to receive the traders, who would bring them the articles of which they stood much in need.

In all these interviews it was the custom, after the assembling of the principal chiefs of the tribe, together with as large a number as possible of the individuals composing it, to build a council fire, smoke the pipe of peace, after which the captains delivered their message and the chiefs replied in more or less florid speeches. A few presents were then distributed. The articles provided for this purpose were a variety of medals, one of which bore the image of Mr. Jefferson, another that of General Washington, and still others displayed a farmer sowing grain, a loom for weaving cloth, and figures of domestic animals, while on the reverse side were two hands clasped with proper inscriptions.

At all of these councils Captain Clark's negro servant, York, was an object of the greatest interest. He was of Herculean build, being six feet two inches tall, intensely black, with the usual thick, short and very curly hair. He was strong and fond of exhibiting feats of strength, in which the Indians were invariably greatly interested. It was with difficulty, sometimes, that they could be convinced that he was not painted for the occasion. The party had also with them an air gun, which was generally exhibited, and the Indians were accustomed to pronounce both York and this air gun to be "great medicine."

On August 21st Sergeant Floyd was suddenly taken ill and died within a few hours. The disease was reported to be bilious colic. In modern times it would doubtless be called appendicitis. He was buried, with full military honors,

on the east bank of the river about a mile south of a small stream which was named Floyd's River. The place is in the northwestern part of the present State of Iowa, not far from Sioux City.

On arriving among the Mandans the season had advanced so far, and the disposition of the Indians was so very friendly, that the two captains began at once to establish their winter camp. They were encouraged to do this by the assurance of the Indians that there was plenty of game in the neighborhood. They were also well supplied with corn of the Indians' own growing, who manifested a great willingness to furnish the party with considerable quantities of it in exchange for the goods which they displayed. A favorable location near the river was accordingly selected, and log houses were built of the elm and cottonwood trees found in the neighborhood, for the protection of the party during the winter. These houses were arranged along two sides of a square, the other two sides being enclosed with a high paling, and a gate which could be securely fastened, so as to prevent all intrusion from unwelcome visitors. The houses opened only into the court thus formed, so that the party were in a condition to easily defend themselves in case of an attack. During the winter the captains found frequent occasion to demonstrate the genuineness of their pretensions of good feeling toward the Indians, and they lost no opportunity to give evidence of this kind.

Here they remained until April 7th. During the winter they encountered some severe weather, the thermometer at one time registering as low as 74 degrees below zero. They also met several agents of the Hudson's Bay Company and Northwest Fur Company with whom the Indians had for some time been accustomed to trade. From these and

from the Indians they acquired a considerable amount of information which was of value to them during the progress of their journey.

The season being now sufficiently advanced to permit them to resume their journey, the barge was loaded with the various articles which they had collected, that seemed likely to be of most interest and value, as showing the arts of the Indians, and the products of the country, and sent back to St. Louis in charge of the members of the party who had been brought thus far for this purpose. The exploring party was now reduced to thirty-two persons, including Clark's servant and a new interpreter who had been engaged, a French half-breed named Toussaint Chaboneau. The latter took with him his wife, who proved to be one of the most valuable members of the party. She was scarcely more than a girl, and carried with her an infant who had been born during the winter which the party had passed with the Mandans. Her name was Sacajawea. She belonged to the Shoshone tribe, whose home is on the upper waters of the Snake River, on the west side of the mountains. She had been captured in one of the wars between her tribe and the Minatarees, a tribe living east of the mountains, some years earlier, and had ever since been a slave, until Chaboneau had bought her for his wife. She proved very intelligent, courageous and capable of great endurance, for during the most toilsome parts of the long journey to the Pacific Ocean and return, she was able to keep up with, and sometimes in advance of, the party, always carrying her child at her breast. She had wonderful sagacity, and was often of more assistance to the party as an interpreter, or in making advances toward an acquaintance with the strange tribes encountered on the way, than either of the interpreters.

She was a reliable guide in the wilderness, and on approach her own country was able to identify several points that she had seen before or after she was taken prisoner, and so helped to convince the captains, when they would otherwise have been in doubt, that they were on the right road to the country which they were so anxious to reach.

The party embarked from Mandan, with their bales of supplies and trading goods, in six small canoes and the two pirogues. The journey up the Missouri to the Great Falls, which were reached on June 13th, was full of interesting and exciting incidents. Many Indian tribes were encountered, and many councils held with them. Their first view of the Rocky Mountains was obtained on May 26th, from a point near Cow Creek, Montana, and their impatience to reach them became notably increased. After passing the Great Falls, it became necessary to build new boats, as the old ones could not be carried around them, and over the rapids above them. They were accordingly hidden where the Indian would not be likely to find them, and a cache, or considerable deposit of the goods they had carried thus far, was made in its vicinity, where they might be found on the return journey, when it was presumed they would be very much in need of them.

The river was now found to turn sharply toward the south, and it was followed toward the southwest to the base of the mountains, about halfway between the present cities of Livingston and Helena, where three rivers of almost equal size unite to form it, and these the captains named for Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Madison and Mr. Gallatin, the president and the two principal members of his cabinet.

Here they were in doubt for a considerable time as to which of these three branches, all apparently of about equal size,

would most conveniently lead them to a pass in the mountains by which they could reach some branch of the Columbia on the opposite side most readily. Their choice finally fell upon the Jefferson, the westernmost of the three. They had not followed it very far before Sacajawea began to recognize certain natural objects in its neighborhood. She finally found the place where she had been taken prisoner, and was visibly affected by memories of that event, which the surrounding objects recalled to her mind. An Indian trail was also found, showing that the Indians living west of the mountains were accustomed to follow this stream in making trips to the buffalo country, or that their enemies followed it in making incursions into their territory.

Captain Lewis, accompanied by Drewyer, the interpreter, and one of the hunters, now went in advance of the party to explore the river, and in hope of meeting some Indians from beyond the mountains, while Captain Clark and the rest of the party pushed on as rapidly as possible behind him. The journey had now become very toilsome. The river was shallow and full of rapids and it was only with the utmost labor that the boats could be dragged over the shoals, or poled up stream against its rapid current.

Finally on August 12th, having followed the Missouri to its utmost source, Captain Lewis and his two companions drank from the spring out of which this branch takes its rise, and then having climbed to the top of the mountain beyond, obtained their first view of the western slope. They beheld a country much broken, and studded by stern and forbidding, snow-covered mountains, between which lay a system of tortuous and uninviting valleys, through, over, or around which they must pursue the remainder of their journey.

Being anxious to find some Indians from whom horses could be procured, without which his party could not, without great loss of time and incredible labor, bring their goods across the divide, Captain Lewis hastened forward. On the following day he saw some Indians but was not able to induce them to come near enough to have any conversation. Finally as he advanced he came suddenly upon three women, one of whom ran away and the other two, an old woman and a little girl, thinking that they could not escape, sat down on the ground and held down their heads, as if expecting that they would be put to death. Captain Lewis put down his rifle and advancing, took them by their hands, lifted them up and through Drewyer, who had by this time come up, informed them that he and those with him were white men, assured them of their peaceable intentions, and asked them to go to their camps and tell the members of their tribes of their wish to visit them. He made them a few presents of beads, awls, mirrors and a little paint, and painted their cheeks with vermilion, a ceremony which all Shoshones regard as emblematic of peace. By this means he was soon brought into communication with the tribe.

They received him with every evidence of friendship, and listened to his story with great interest and attention. The chief manifested a willingness to furnish horses and help him to convey his goods across the mountains, but many members of the tribe were suspicious that he would lead them into some trap, where they would be overwhelmed by their enemies. Their numbers had been very greatly reduced by wars with various tribes, who lived on the plains, particularly with the Minatarees. They had plenty of horses, but lacked nearly everything else that was necessary to make them comfortable, and as there was but little game in the part of the

mountains where they lived, and but few fish in the rivers, they would soon be compelled to cross the mountains to hunt buffalo. They therefore did not have much time to spare to assist him, and they could afford to take no risk of a battle with their enemies.

After a long conference the chief and a few of the party agreed to go with him with their horses, on the following day, and after they had started most of the tribe followed them. At nearly every step of the way some new doubt arose, and Captain Lewis had the utmost difficulty to hold them to their agreement. At no time during the entire journey was the situation of his party more critical than at the present. It was absolutely necessary to have horses to get the baggage across the mountains, and it was of the utmost importance that no time should be lost, as the season was getting late, and in that altitude a sudden fall of snow, which might then be expected at any time, might delay the progress of the party so far as to compel them to winter here, and in such a contingency they would have faced almost certain starvation.

It was important to keep the Indians together until they should meet Clark and the other members of the party, so that they could be convinced that all that he had told them was true. If even one of them should break away and spread unfavorable reports among the tribes still to be met, the difficulties of their progress would be greatly increased, and might become absolutely unsurmountable. Captain Lewis therefore was obliged to use the utmost tact, and every possible resource to hold the chief and his party to their agreement. Fortunately for him Clark was met at or near the point where he was expected. Then a new difficulty presented itself. While he had needed only men and horses, the whole tribe, including women and children, had followed

him, and now depended on him for their subsistence. The hunters had been scarcely able to provide food for his own party before the Indians arrived. It was now necessary that they should, for a few days, provide for a much larger number. They were fortunate enough, however, to be able to do this, and in the course of time, the whole expedition was transferred across the mountains to the headwaters of the Lemhi, a small tributary of the Salmon River.

At the first meeting of the Indians with the main party of the expedition an affecting incident occurred. As they approached the party, Sacajawea displayed the greatest interest, giving every evidence of joy, and sucking her fingers to show that they were really her people. One of the first members of the tribe she recognized was a young woman who had been taken a prisoner when she herself had been captured, and had afterwards escaped. The two women embraced each other most tenderly and displayed every evidence of deepest affection. Subsequently, when a council was held between the two captains and the chiefs of the tribe, she was called upon to act as interpreter. She had scarcely taken her place at the council fire, when she recognized the principal chief, whose name was Cammeahwait, as her brother. She instantly jumped up, ran and embraced him, throwing over him her blanket and weeping profusely. The chief was himself moved, though not in the same degree. After some conversation between them, she resumed her place and attempted to interpret, but her new situation seemed to overpower her and she was frequently interrupted by her tears. After the council was finished, she learned that all her family were dead, except two brothers, one of whom was absent, and a son of her eldest sister, a small boy, whom she immediately adopted.

At this council the Indians observed a curious custom which the party had nowhere else seen. On taking their places around the council fire, all the chiefs removed their moccasins and requested the captains and those with them to do likewise, nor would they proceed until this was done. Captain Lewis has noted in his journal, in his account of his first meeting with the two women of this tribe, who held down their heads as if inviting to strike, when they supposed that all opportunity for escape was lost, that this habit is practiced in Egypt to this day. It is a curious fact that the custom of taking off the shoes, an evidence of sincerity as practiced by these Indians, was also practiced among the Jews in ancient times. In the book of Ruth, we are told that "it was the manner in former times in Israel, concerning redeeming and concerning changing, for to confirm all things, a man plucked off his shoe and gave it to his neighbor; and this was for a testimony in Israel." (Ruth iv, 7.) Most of the signs used in the universal sign language, which is everywhere understood among savages, have a very natural and obvious meaning, as for example the sucking of the fingers to indicate kinship. Smoking, a symbol of peace, is easily understandable, since only those smoke together who are on terms of good will, if not of intimacy. The waving of a blanket over the head, and then spreading it upon the ground, a sign that can be seen and read from a great distance, very naturally indicates friendliness, since it is an intimation from the party giving it, that he is willing to hospitably receive and entertain the party whose attention he is trying to attract. But how these Indians should have come to adopt this custom of removing the moccasins, old as it is, as an evidence of sincerity, is not easy to guess.

The party were nearly a month in making the trip up the Jefferson from the forks of the Missouri, and across the mountains to the headwaters of the Lemhi. Here they hoped to find an easy means of transportation down some mountain stream to the Columbia, and Captain Clark with eleven men was now sent ahead to hunt for it. He was warned by the Indians that the stream into which the Lemhi emptied would be found impassable. Nevertheless he determined to explore it for himself, but after advancing a few miles through a very difficult country, he found that what the Indians had told him was true. The Salmon River flows through a deep gorge, over rapids that are wholly impracticable for boats of any kind, for a distance of several miles. It was therefore necessary to seek a stream further to the north. Several of the Indians he encountered drew rude maps of the country, either in the sand or on pieces of bark, all of which so far agreed as to easily determine the party which course they ought to take. One young Indian was found, who did not belong to the Shoshones, but who was able to make Clark and his exploring party understand that his tribe inhabited a country that could only be reached by a journey of twenty days toward the southwest, and most of this time the trail would lead over rugged mountains which were almost impassable for horses. Then three days would be required to cross a wide valley through which ran a large river, flowing toward the northwest. The rest of the way lay through a country inhabited by Indians who were at war with his tribe, and who were very savage. It was evident therefore that the route they were seeking did not lay in that direction.

The two captains had been considerably surprised to find a few mules among the many horses which these Indians

possessed, and also some remains of bridles and saddles that were evidently of Spanish manufacture. These mules were far more highly prized by their owners than their horses, a mule generally being considered three or four times as valuable as a horse. The young Indian above alluded to explained that these had been obtained from white people living several days' travel beyond the country inhabited by his own tribe, and toward the southwest. His people sometimes made excursions into that country and obtained considerable quantities of goods from the people living there. It was also ascertained that the Shoshones had trade relations with Spaniards living far to the south on the east side of the mountains.

Employing a chief and his son to act as guides, the party now started toward the northwest. They first crossed a lofty mountain range, almost as difficult as that which they had just passed. In many places it was necessary to cut a road through fallen timber or thick underbrush, and when finally they passed above timber line, the trail was so rocky as to break the horses' feet, and sometimes so narrow that it was scarcely passable. The ascents were so steep in places as to baffle the animals, which if hurried were in imminent danger of losing their footing altogether, and falling over the perilous cliffs, into the gorges below. One or two of the horses did in fact roll down the steep mountain side, but were rescued without injury to themselves or to their packs.

In this high altitude it was almost impossible to get food. There was but little game, and what little there was the hunters could not secure in a country so open. They were therefore forced to kill some of their horses, and the party subsisted on horse flesh for a few days. For a day or two the situation was grave in the extreme. Progress was difficult.

The horses were nearly famished and their feet were much bruised by contact with the sharp rocks. The men were nearly exhausted and some of them were ill, and yet the labor they were required to perform was the severest they had yet encountered.

Finally Captain Clark, with a small party, forced his way in advance, until he found a creek which seemed to give promise that it would soon lead to a larger stream, down which the party might travel, and with infinitely less labor. Here he met, for the first time, with representatives of the Nez Perce nation, who received him with some suspicion. It is a tradition among these Indians that they were first inclined to believe the party to be enemies, although they finally decided to receive them with favor, and have always been on good terms with the white people, except on one occasion. They were finally determined to receive them upon the recommendation of a very old woman, who was dying in the camp, who had once been a prisoner in one of the tribes living east of the mountains, among whom she had long been a slave. She had at last managed to escape, and in this she had been considerably aided by white people with whom she had come in contact, and of whom she invariably spoke as the "crowned ones," because they wore hats.

By their new friends the party was now supplied with an abundance of roots upon which the Indians were accustomed to subsist, but with which the explorers were unfamiliar. Several of the party were made very sick by eating them. Among these was Captain Clark, who suffered severely for several days. By the aid of the Nez Percés, Captain Lewis and the remainder of the party were brought up, and as they had now reached a stream which seemed to be practicable for boats, the entire party set to work to construct a sufficient

number of canoes to take them down the river. In this work they were engaged for several days. When the boats were completed, two chiefs were employed as guides, and the party set off down a stream which they called the Kooskooskie, but which is now known as the Clearwater. The horses and saddles were entrusted to the principal chief of the tribe, known as Twisted Hair, who agreed to care for them until the party should return in the following year, an agreement which he faithfully kept.

The work of building the canoes consumed the time between September 27th and October 7th. The trip down the Clearwater for the four days following, was full of exciting incidents. The river is filled with rapids for many miles, through some of which the boats were taken with very great difficulty. In one of these one of the boats struck a rock and was seriously damaged. In one day fifteen of these rapids were passed, and on another eight, and on the evening of October 10th the party arrived at the junction of the Clearwater and Snake Rivers, near the spot where the flourishing city of Lewiston now stands, on the western border of Idaho. On the following morning they would cross over to where Clarkston now stands and so entered what was eventually to be the State of Washington.

Here the party had their first experience with dog's flesh as an article of food. They had been living on horse beef for some days and did not particularly like it. The few fish they had been able to take at that time of the year were not very desirable, nor were there enough of them to satisfy their appetites. No game was to be had, and the roots they had procured from the Indians were neither appetizing nor nourishing. Indian dogs were abundant, and although the Indians themselves did not eat them, the white men found

themselves compelled to do so or go hungry, and perhaps starve. They accordingly resolved to make the experiment, and very much to their surprise found dog meat quite palatable. They soon began to prefer it to poor fish, and later to the lean and tough meat of the half-starved deer and elk they were able to obtain. The Indians readily sold them dogs in sufficient numbers to supply their needs, though they regarded the use made of them with many evidences of disfavor. This to the hungry white men was not a matter of much concern, and except during the winter months spent at Fort Clatsop, dogs furnished a staple and ever welcome article of diet, until they returned to the east side of the Rocky Mountains.

The explorers had now reached that part of their journey in which the people of Washington will naturally feel most interest. They were just beyond the border of the future State, and were about to enter upon their journey down the great river, which, after flowing through its southeastern corner, joins the Columbia and forms its southern boundary from that point, or near it, to the ocean.

Early on the morning of October 11th, and before taking breakfast, they entered their canoes, bade farewell to the Clearwater, and floated out into the rapid current of the Snake River, down which they easily passed to the confluence of Alpowa Creek, in Asotin County, where they stopped for breakfast, and where they bought seven dogs from a small band of Indians they found there.

After breakfasting they embarked again and floated swiftly onward, making a total of thirty-one miles during the day. They camped for the night on the right bank near the mouth of Almota Creek, now in Whitman County. On the following day they made thirty miles, but were compelled to stop

early in the afternoon by a rapid, which they had not time to explore before dark, and they made their camp on the right bank, nearly opposite the present town of Riparia. Next morning, the rapid was passed, though not without some difficulty, as it was found to be quite as difficult as the Indians living along the shore had represented it to be. Beyond it they passed the mouth of Palouse River which, in honor of their chief hunter, they called Drewyer's River, and thirteen miles below it made their camp for the night. On the morning of the fourteenth still more rapids were passed, and the party landed and had dinner just before entering what are now known as the Pine Tree Rapids. Here they had more difficulty than they had encountered so far since entering the Snake River. One of the boats was driven crosswise against a rock in the middle of the current. The crew attempted to get her off but the waves dashed over it, and the boat soon filled. The men got out on the rock and held it above the water with great difficulty, till another canoe was unloaded and sent to their help. The boat was finally saved but a large part of the goods in it went overboard and floated down stream. Most of them were recovered, however, and the crew were rescued by the other members of the party, without much difficulty. On account of this accident they were obliged to land soon afterwards and make camp for the night on an island where their goods were spread out to dry.

Here they found some timbers which had been used by the Indians for a house, and as there was no other wood available for their camp fires, they were compelled to use a part of it for this purpose. It was the first time, during their long journey, that they had taken anything belonging to Indians without their consent, but they could not avoid

doing so at this time, because the Indian owners were not present and it was absolutely necessary that they should have wood.

On the following morning their goods were not yet sufficiently dry to be returned to the bales, and the hunters were sent out in the hope that they might procure some game. They returned about ten o'clock, having been able to secure nothing but three geese and two ducks. Here, for the first time they saw the Blue Mountains, which appeared to be about sixty miles away. About two o'clock, although their goods were not yet completely dry, they again embarked, and within the next fourteen miles they passed seven rapids and numerous small islands. For some distance the river had been flowing through deep gorges between almost perpendicular banks, but the country now began to be low, extending back into a broad waving plain. The river also widened into a kind of basin where the current was scarcely perceptible, and after passing through this the captains were warned by their Indian guides that they were now approaching a very dangerous rapid, and as it was already growing late, they decided to make camp for the night.

During the remainder of the afternoon, and on the following morning these rapids, now known as Fish Hook Rapids, were thoroughly inspected, and found to be quite as difficult as the Indians had represented them, and their passage proved to be very disagreeable, on account of a succession of shoals extending from bank to bank, for a distance of three miles, during which the channel is narrow, crooked, and obstructed by large rocks in every direction, requiring the greatest dexterity to avoid being dashed against them. After an exciting excursion all the boats got through without injury, except the last, which ran on a rock, but by the assistance

of the other boats and the Indians it was saved from wreck, though its cargo was badly soaked. Three other small rapids were passed within the next twelve miles, when another which was so great that the boats could not be taken through it, was reached. The canoes were accordingly unloaded and, with their contents, carried around it. This is now known as Five Mile Rapid. After completing the portage the party stopped for dinner, and were visited by five Indians, to whom they made a present of some tobacco, whereupon they set off at a run down the river to give notice to their people of the approach of strangers. After dinner, the boats were reloaded and passed safely down to the confluence of the Snake with the great Columbia. This part of the river is now continually and readily navigated by steamboats, which find little difficulty in passing any of these rapids.

Here they were met by a great number of Indians. They accordingly made their camp, intending to remain for some time, and hold a council.

They had scarcely completed their camp arrangement when a chief came down the river with a company of nearly two hundred members of his tribe, marching to the music made by the beating of drums, which they accompanied with their voices. They formed a semicircle around the camp and continued to sing for some time. After this ceremony, a council was held, during which, after the inevitable pipe had been passed around, the two captains communicated, as well as they could by signs, since they now had no interpreter who could speak the language of these Indians, their peaceable intentions.

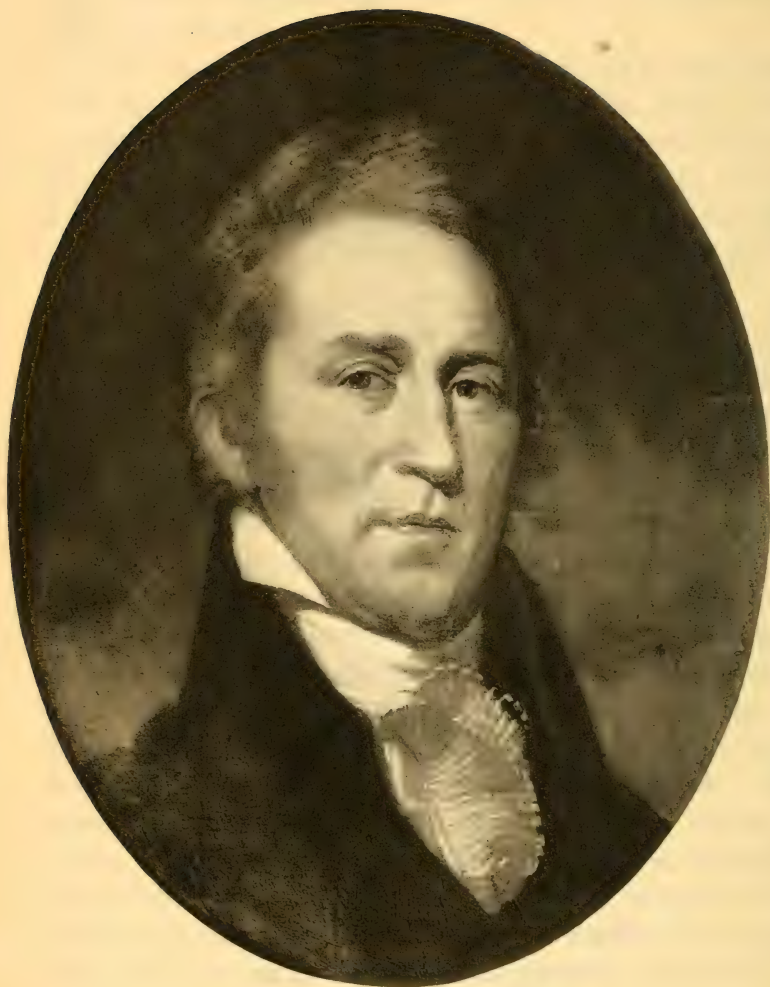
On the following day, October 17th, observations were made to determine the latitude and longitude of the place, as well as the width of the two rivers. The Snake was found

to be five hundred and seventy-five yards wide, while the width of the Columbia below the junction was nine hundred and sixty yards.

In the course of the day Captain Clark, in a small canoe with two men, made a trip up the Columbia as far as the confluence of the Yakima, which he called the Tapteal. Here he met a large number of Indians whom he had not before seen, and was very hospitably received, and furnished with a very palatable dinner of fish, of which they had an abundance.

The next day, more Indians arrived with whom the party smoked, and held a long council. One of the Indians present drew a map of the Columbia on a robe with a piece of coal, on which he indicated with considerable accuracy, some of the more striking characteristics of the river, and the location of various tribes who would be met in its descent.

The party, having now completed the purposes of their stay at this point, resumed their journey, accompanied only by the two chiefs, who had been their guides from the time of their embarkation on the Clearwater. They floated easily along for a distance of several miles, passing Homly and one or two other swift rapids, and, in the course of the afternoon, obtained their first view of Mount Hood. They camped for the night, their first on the Columbia, on the left bank. On the following morning a great number of Indians came to visit them, with whom they smoked and had a very satisfactory interview, being pressed to remain for a longer time, in order that more Indians might get to see them. In consequence of this conference, the party made rather a late start. Four miles down the river they approached the Umatilla Rapids, which are strewn with high rocks and rocky islands, and in many places obstructed by shoals, over which



J. M. Clark

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the same, and it is believed that the more than 1000 feet of the party was in the water, and the high, which was about 100 feet, and the river in both directions. Here also, he obtained the first view of a very high snow-capped mountain, seemingly about one hundred and very miles distant and on the north side of the river. This was Mount Adams, although he supposed it to be Mount St. Helens. From the same point Mount Hood could also be seen, from far to the west.

Here some Indians were encountered, who had never seen a white man, and it was only with great difficulty that Captain Clark and Drowyer and two other members of the party could approach them. Before any of the Indians saw him, Captain Clark had shot a white crane which came flying near him. The crack of his rifle greatly alarmed the Indians, who had never heard anything of this kind before. They also saw the crane fall before they saw him and, as it had fallen near him, they supposed when they saw him that he had fallen from the clouds, and that it was he and not the crane that they had seen fall. They therefore supposed that they had seen something supernatural, and were accordingly very much terrified. They all retreated to their village, into which Captain Clark and his men were obliged to follow their way, with their pipes in their hands as the best evidence they could give of their peaceful intentions. When they had soothed the fears of these simple people, Captain Clark lighted his pipe with a sun glass which he carried in his pocket, and this was another very wonderful thing to them. He then gave the glass to one of the men and distributed some

WILLIAM CLARK.

Born in Virginia August 1, 1770; removed to Kentucky 1784; lieutenant of infantry March 1792; lieutenant of artillery 1804; joined with Lewis in command of the expedition to the Pacific 1804-1806; afterwards brigadier general; governor of Missouri territory 1813-1821; superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis 1822-1838; died at St. Louis September 1, 1838.



W. Clark

the canoes had to be dragged by hand so that they were more than two hours in passing. While the remainder of the party were making this portage, Captain Clark climbed the bank of the river, which is here about two hundred feet high, and obtained his first view of the surrounding country, which extends away from the river in both directions in a broad level plain. Here also, he obtained his first view of a very high snow-covered mountain, seemingly about one hundred and fifty miles distant and on the north side of the river. This was Mount Adams, although he supposed it to be Mount St. Helens. From the same point Mount Hood could also be seen, lying far to the west.

Here some Indians were encountered, who had never seen a white man, and it was only with great difficulty that Captain Clark and Drewyer and two other members of the party could approach them. Before any of the Indians saw him, Captain Clark had shot a white crane which came flying near him. The crack of his rifle greatly alarmed the Indians, who had never heard anything of this kind before. They also saw the crane fall before they saw him and, as it had fallen near him, they supposed when they saw him that he had fallen from the clouds, and that it was he and not the crane that they had seen fall. They therefore supposed that they had seen something supernatural, and were accordingly very much terrified. They all retreated to their lodges, into which Captain Clark and his men were obliged to force their way, with their pipes in their hands as the best evidence they could give of their peaceful intentions. When they had soothed the fears of these simple people, Captain Clark lighted his pipe with a sun glass which he carried in his pocket, and this was another very wonderful thing to them. He then gave the glass to one of the men and distributed some

small trinkets among the women and children, which, in some degree, restored their confidence. It was not, however, until the two Indian guides had arrived and assured them of the good intentions of the party, and Sacajawea had appeared, that their apprehensions were entirely relieved.

Here the party took dinner, and then resuming their journey, made their camp for the night on the left bank of the river, some six or seven miles below the mouth of the Umatilla, having about thirty-six miles during the day.

On Sunday morning, the 20th, the party passed two tolerably swift rapids, soon after resuming their journey, the larger of which they called Pelican Rapid, from seeing a number of white pelicans and black cormorants in its neighborhood. They stopped for dinner at a point opposite a large island where the river makes a sharp bend toward the left. On this island they found a building about sixty feet long and twelve feet wide, composed of poles and split boards, which was used by the Indians as a burying place for their dead, after inspecting which they reëntered their boats and floated on down the river without accident, for twenty-four miles, to Muscleshell Rapids. About ten miles beyond these rapids, camp was made for the night on the right bank, in what is now Klickitat County, and probably not far from the mouth of Wood Creek.

On Monday morning the journey was resumed and, after a trip of about eight miles, the party landed for breakfast. Here they found some Indians, one of whom had a blanket of scarlet and one of blue cloth, and another had a sailor's jacket, the first evidence they had seen for some time of contact with white people. Here also they found among the Indians some kind of acorns which they used for food, and which they said were obtained near the Great Falls, which

they called "Timm," according to the journal, but evidently Tum, since tum is the word which all the coast Indians use to denote the sound of falling water. After breakfast the journey was resumed, and the party now found themselves beginning to enter the succession of rapids which lead to the Great Falls, near which is the present city of Celilo. On the left side of the river were immense piles of rocks, which seemed to have slipped from the cliffs which towered above them, and these continued for some distance, spreading still further into the river until they form a very dangerous rapid, now known as Squally Hook. For many miles the river is narrow and very much obstructed by these rocks. High hills line the bank on either side. Between three and four miles down the river lies another rapid which is also very difficult, and still further down a small river comes in from the south which the captains called Lepage, in honor of Baptiste Lepage, one of the members of the party. It is now known as John Day's River. Below this is another rapid where the river is crowded in every direction with large rocks and rocky islands, and the passage was found so difficult that the boats were got through only by the exercise of the greatest care and patience. After passing this rapid the party landed on the right bank and camped for the night.

After making six miles, on the morning of the 22d, they were stopped by Hellgate Rapid, through which they made their way with the utmost caution. At the mouth of the Des Chutes, they stopped in order to examine the river lying below them, which is compressed within a channel only about two hundred yards wide, through which it flows among rocks, some of which are above and some below the surface, making the passage extremely dangerous. After dinner they drifted down through these rapids for a few miles, where

they were obliged to halt and make a careful examination of the falls, which they were now approaching, and of the rapid below. They soon discovered that a portage would be necessary, and that it could be most easily made by the north bank. The canoes were accordingly unloaded, and transferred by land, together with their contents, for a distance of twelve hundred yards. For the first part of this distance their path led over solid rock; then a space of about two hundred yards wide, covered with loose sand, was encountered, but the rest of the journey lay over firm and solid ground. The labor of making this portage was most difficult, and consumed a great deal of time, though the Indians finally offered their assistance with their horses, which was very readily accepted.

At this point the travelers had a very convenient opportunity to examine the Indian method of curing fish for their winter supply. This is done, first, by opening the fish and exposing it to the sun on scaffolds. When it is sufficiently dried it is pounded between two stones, till it is pulverized, and then pressed into a basket about two feet long and one foot in diameter, made of grass and rushes, and lined with fish skins. When filled the top of the basket is covered with fish skins secured by cords. The baskets are then placed in some dry situation, ten or twelve of them being laid together on mats, and made secure by cords, over which other mats are again thrown. In this manner the fish is left exposed until it is sent to market, and it forms a considerable staple of trade between these Indians and their neighbors. Much of it is sent down the river to Indians living below the falls, by whom it is then carried to the mouth of the Columbia, where more or less of it was sold in that day to ships which visited those waters. Nearly all of the succeeding day was

occupied in completing this portage, and on the morning of the 24th the party again embarked.

They had now arrived at that part of the great river where nature seems to have opened a way for it through the mountains, by rending the rocks asunder with some force too vast for human comprehension, and yet has not made the opening wide enough to permit its mighty mass of waters to get through except under tremendous pressure. The broad river, which in places is easily a mile in width, is here compressed between perpendicular walls of jagged, black or dark brown rocks, that are barely fifty yards asunder. It seems to be turned on edge, and dashes through the narrow channel with a velocity that gives it a choked appearance, lifting the water to a considerable height above the level at its entrance, as if it were being drawn up hill. The angles in the rocky walls on either side send it scurrying in eddies and whirlpools, covered with foam, and swelling and boiling in a tremendous manner. To the spectator viewing this gorge from the rocks above, it seems impossible that any boat could go through it without being dashed to pieces. The Indians, who manage their canoes with great skill, and are generally bold sailors, as Lewis and Clark had frequent occasion to observe, had never ventured into the boiling rapids, and manifested great surprise that the white men should even think of doing so.

But the difficulties of transferring the boats and their contents over the high rocks which in places bordered the channel on either side, were so great, that much must be risked or the expedition would be indefinitely delayed. It was now the end of October, and as nothing was yet known of the character of the winter in this region, the captains were anxious to complete their journey in order that they

might begin to prepare for it. From all they could learn through the Indians, whose language their interpreters could but imperfectly understand, these gorges and rapids extended for a considerable distance beyond. There were intimations that the Indians, whose villages they were now approaching, were likely to prove troublesome. Their two guides were afraid to advance further, and protested that they could now be of no further assistance, and must return home to attend to their own affairs. With great difficulty they were prevailed upon to remain two days longer, the captains promising to make peace for them with the troublesome tribes, no matter how warlike they might be.

Two days had been consumed in getting around the falls at Celilo. It was resolved to send the goods by a portage over and around the rocks, bordering the threatening channel, and then attempt to make the shoot through it in the empty boats. The first gorge, about half a mile in length, was passed in safety, only one of the boats shipping so much water as to make the captains anxious for its safety. Another and much larger and more dangerous gorge lay beyond, and after resting for the night on the right bank, this was entered on the following morning with the almost empty boats, the goods, arms and papers belonging to the expedition being portaged as before. A large number of Indians assembled to witness the daring undertaking. The gorge is here somewhat wider than the shorter one passed the previous day, but the current is terrific, and the whirlpools not less dangerous than in the first. Long thongs of elk hide were now prepared, and the stoutest members of the party were sent with these over the rocks, to assist such boats as might need their help. Only one of the five had need of their assistance. This was dashed upon

a rock, and so nearly filled with water as to come near being swamped, but it was rescued from its peril by the aid of those on shore, and finally brought through in safety.

The party were twelve days in making the passage around falls, through the Dalles, and past the Cascades. Two days were spent at or near where the city called the Dalles now stands, in repairing the boats, and drying the goods which had been considerably damaged by water. During this time, several new tribes of Indians appeared, with whom they smoked and talked as usual. Some of these were not disposed to be as friendly as most others they had met, but none made any trouble, except by stealing a few articles now and then as opportunity offered, but nearly everything stolen was recovered.

Among these Indians they found many articles, such as blankets, coats, hats, guns and brass and iron kettles, that had evidently been obtained from white men. These were highly prized and had been obtained from ships at the mouth of the river. These evidences of a communication with the civilized world gave the explorers much satisfaction, and inspired the hope that they might find some ship upon their arrival at the river's mouth, from which they might recruit their stock of supplies, now much depleted, and also obtain some food of a kind with which they had a long time ago been familiar. In this hope, however, they were doomed to be disappointed.

Since leaving the falls at Celilo they had passed and named Cataract River, now the Klikitat, the Labische, now Hood's River, and Canoe Creek, now known as White Salmon River, coming in from the right. Near the mouth of the latter stream they spent the night of October 29th, after visiting Memaloose Island. On the following day they noted the

Cascades falling over the high bank of the river on the Oregon side, and passed the mouth of the Wind River in Skamania County, which they named Cruzattes River, for Cruzatte, one of their Canadian watermen. They spent the night on the Washington shore, nearly opposite the present town of Bonneville.

Three days were now consumed in making the two portages around the upper and lower Cascades, the former being one of the most difficult they had yet encountered. The four larger boats were skidded from one rock to another on poles for a considerable distance, and with great labor. During much of the time rain was falling, and in addition to their labor the party encountered great discomfort.

But the most toilsome part of their long journey was now ended. The broad smooth river, in which the rise and fall of the tide began to be perceptible, now lay before them, and on its placid surface they floated onward to the ocean. They passed such noteworthy points as Multnomah Falls, Sunday Island, Table Rock and Cape Horn, and, November 3d, camped for the night about half way between the lower Cascades and Vancouver. They saw the Sandy River on the left, which they called Quicksand River, and the Washougal on the right, where, forty years later, the first white settlers in Washington were to spend their first winter, and called it Seal River. They also passed the site of the present city of Vancouver, and Sauvies Island, which they named Wapato Island, because they first made the acquaintance of that great article of Indian diet there. They passed the mouth of the Willamette without seeing it, and made their camp for the night on the right-hand shore, near the mouth of Lewis River. On this day also they obtained their first

view of Mount St. Helens, which they erroneously supposed to be the same mountain they had seen from the neighborhood of the Umatilla Rapids.

On November 5th their journey lay through a part of the river, studded with islands, where game was abundant. Late in the afternoon they passed the site of the present town of Kalama, and about seven miles farther on they made camp for the night on the right bank opposite Carroll's Bluff. The morning of the 6th dawned cold and rainy, and their journey was resumed at an early hour. Soon after starting they passed the mouth of the Cowlitz, and later Mount Coffin, near which they stopped on an island for dinner, after a journey of twenty-nine miles, during the whole of which rain fell almost incessantly. Camp was made for the night opposite the upper end of Puget's Island.

The morning of November 7th, the last day of their long and eventful journey, was rainy, with a very heavy fog. They now pushed on down the river, keeping between the islands and the right-hand shore, past the present site of Cathlamet, Skamokawa and Brookfield, meeting a considerable number of Indians, who gladly sold them fish, wapato and dogs, and acted as their guides. They had not gone far beyond a small Indian village, where they had purchased some food and two beaver skins, and which must have been near where the town of Brookfield now stands, when the fog lifted and they beheld the broad estuary into which Gray had sailed thirteen year earlier, and which Broughton had named Gray's Bay. They supposed it to be the ocean, which they had come so far to seek, and which was to be the limit of their journey. "Great joy in camp," writes Captain Clark, who is rarely enthusiastic about anything, and is now more than usually careless about his spelling. "We are in

view of the Ocian, the Great Pacific Ocian which we have been so long anxious to see, and the roeing, or noise made by waves brakeing on the rockey shores (as I suppose) may be heard distinctly."

Although all were thoroughly wet and uncomfortable, the enthusiasm consequent upon the near approach of a season of rest and recuperation, after which the return journey would begin, every step of which would bring them nearer home, was great and the best of spirits prevailed. As no inviting spot for a camp appeared along the bold and rocky shores, they continued on past Three Tree and Jim Crow points for about fourteen miles, and finally went ashore at a point opposite Pillar Rock.

The next day they coasted along the north shore of Gray's Bay, to a point near which the water was found to be so rough that some of the men became seasick, and they were compelled to land and make camp among the most disagreeable surroundings. The shore was so abrupt that it was with difficulty that a place was found where all could lie down and be secure against the rising tide. It was necessary to build a sort of scaffold of rocks and driftwood to keep the baggage above the reach of the water. Here they were compelled, by high winds and stormy weather, to remain during all of the following day. The tide rose so high, under the influence of a strong southwest wind, that the waves broke over the camp, and drifting logs dashed here and there by the angry waters, so seriously threatened the boats that they were saved only by the utmost vigilance. The whole party were drenched with rain, and compelled to be in the water during the most of the day, their only food being some dried fish, and a little rain water which they managed to catch with some difficulty. "Yet though wet and cold," says the

journal, "and some of them sick from using the salt water, the men were cheerful and full of anxiety to see more of the ocean."

The rain continued to fall during the whole night, but on the following morning the storm had somewhat abated. The waves were less threatening, and the boats were accordingly loaded, and the journey along the shore toward the mouth of the river was continued for ten miles, when they were forced to turn back to the mouth of a small stream, near which their baggage was piled upon a rock above the reach of the tide. But there was no room between the river and the steep bank to make camp, and the party were compelled to make themselves as comfortable as they could upon some drifting logs. These were set afloat by the rising tide during the night, while the rain, which continued with increased fury, loosened stones and chunks of clay from the steep face of the banks that rose five hundred feet above them, and sent them rolling down through the camp in such a way as to threaten the lives of all, and cause the greatest anxiety.

During the following day, the 12th, they managed to move around a neighboring point to a small brook, which they had not before observed, where they were not so much exposed to the storm. Here they remained until the 15th, when they were able to move farther down toward the Indian village which Gray called Chinouk (Chinook). From this camp Captain Lewis, on the 17th, made a trip down Haley's Bay (so called for a white trader who, according to the Indians, occasionally visited it) to and around the point of Cape Disappointment, and upon his return Captain Clark set out by land, rounded the cape and followed the shore north ten or twelve miles, until he could see the entrance to

Shoalwater Bay. He there carved his name with the date, in the bark of a fir tree, after which he crossed the peninsula and returned, reaching camp on the 20th.

Hearing from the Indians that a more comfortable place for a winter camp could be found on the southern side of the river, and that game was more abundant there, Captain Lewis set off to explore that country, and on Saturday, December 7th, the rest of the party followed. They crossed the broad estuary of the Columbia with some difficulty, and landed in a broad harbor which they called Meriwether Bay. Two small streams flowed into this bay from the south. On reaching the southern side of it, they ascended the westernmost of these streams, now known as the Netul, for three miles, to the first high land on its western bank, where, about two hundred yards from the water, and thirty feet above the level of the highest tides, they determined to fix their winter camp. Seven small huts were built, and although the camp was not as carefully fortified as that of the preceding winter at Mandan, it was so arranged that intruders could be kept out when necessary. A meat house was built in addition, and this the hunters were generally able to keep well supplied. As their supply of salt was now exhausted, several members of the party were sent to the seashore to start a salt-boiling establishment, and although their kettles were small they managed to produce about three quarts of fairly good salt per day. During the winter, Captain Clark and a small party made an excursion along the shore toward the south as far as Tillamook Rock, and this was the utmost limit of their explorations.

By the first of April they began to make preparations for their return home. During the winter no ship had arrived on the Columbia, and it was therefore impossible

to comply with that part of their instructions requiring them, if possible, to send two of their number with copies of their journal home by sea. One of their last acts before leaving the camp was to make several lists of the members of the party, and leave these among the friendly Indians, with instructions to give them to the first white man who should arrive in that country. On the back of each copy of this paper was drafted a rough map of the route by which the explorers had come, and of that by which they expected to return. A copy was also fastened on the door of one of their cabins. In addition to the list of names, this paper contained the following:

“The object of this list is, that through the medium of some civilized person who may see the same, it may be made known to the world, that the party consisting of the persons whose names are hereunto annexed, and who were sent out by the government of the United States to explore the interior of the Continent of North America, did penetrate the same by way of the Missouri and Columbia Rivers, to the discharge of the latter into the Pacific Ocean, where they arrived on the 14th of November, 1805, and from whence they departed the 23d day of March, 1806, on their return to the United States by the same route by which they had come out.”

One of these copies ultimately reached the United States through the courtesy of Captain Hill of the brig *Lydia*, who visited the Columbia during the following season, and secured it from one of the Indians with whom he traded. He carried it to Canton, in January 1807, and sent it thence to Philadelphia, where it arrived in safety, having traveled nearly around the world.

The party left Fort Clatsop, as their winter camp was called, on the 23d of March 1806, going in their boats up

the river as far as the Dalles, where horses were procured with some difficulty for the remainder of their journey to the crest of the mountains. During the first part of their journey they explored the southern bank, as they had given their attention generally to the northern bank on their way down, during the preceding autumn. On March 30th they made their camp near the present site of Vancouver, and on the following day moved to the Washougal, where they remained for more than a week, while Captain Clark explored the Willamette to and above the falls, and the hunters made excursions in various directions in search of game. On April 9th they reached the Cascades, and they were eight days in making the various portages necessary to pass the Dalles. During all of this time they were greatly annoyed by thieving Indians, and on several occasions their goods were protected only with very great difficulty.

Their trading goods were now reduced to a very small supply. "All the small merchandise we possess," says the journal, "might be tied up in a couple of handkerchiefs. The rest of our stock in trade consists of six blue robes, one scarlet ditto, five robes which we made out of our large United States flag, a few old clothes trimmed with ribbons, and one artillerist's uniform coat and hat, which probably Captain Clark will never wear again. We have to depend entirely upon this meagre outfit for the purchase of such horses and provisions as it will be in our power to obtain—a scant dependence, indeed, for such a journey as is before us." Above the Dalles a few horses were procured and others were added as they went along, the boats being finally traded for the last animals they needed to procure at that point. They now followed the north bank of the river and on April 27th arrived among their old friends the Walla Wallas, at

the confluence of the Snake River. Here they were received with every evidence of friendship, and they remained for two or three days, at the request of the Indians, who seemed anxious to detain them as long as possible. It was here decided to leave the river, and make directly across the country to the mouth of the Clearwater. The Indians assured them that a very good road would be found along the banks of the Walla Walla and Touchet, and by an easy ascent they could pass to the Alpowa and thence to the Snake. This route they decided to follow, the Indians offering to guide them, and they found it shortened their journey, as they supposed, about eighty miles.

From the mouth of the Clearwater they returned by the route they had come, to the summit of the Bitter Root Mountains, where the party divided, Captain Lewis going directly eastward by way of Missoula; and the upper waters of Clark's Fork, to the Great Falls of the Missouri, while Captain Clark returned through the country of the Shoshones to the headwaters of the Jefferson, through which he passed down to the Missouri, and thence across the divide to the Yellowstone, while Lewis made a tour to the northward to explore the headwaters of the Marias River, in order to determine whether it took its rise north or south of the fiftieth parallel. On this excursion he had an encounter with a party of Blackfeet, in which two of the Indians were killed, and his party was obliged to retreat with a loss of a portion of their outfit. This was the only encounter they had with any Indian tribe during the entire journey, in which blood was shed by either party.

The two parties were subsequently united at the mouth of the Yellowstone, from which point they floated down the Missouri, reaching St. Louis on September 23d, having

been absent nearly two years and a half, during which time they had made a journey of nearly eight thousand miles, through a wilderness, inhabited only by savages, where during most of the time they had been compelled to depend entirely on the country for their subsistence. Many times they were without sufficient food; they ate of many different things they had never before tasted, including a variety of roots and plants, and the flesh of horses and dogs, as well as that of various animals and birds, some of which was not altogether wholesome, but they were never in imminent danger of starvation, nor did they at any time go long hungry. They suffered something from exposure to the elements, and much from the swarms of mosquitoes which they found abundant everywhere, except in their two winter encampments. Several members of the party were sick at various times and Captain Lewis was accidentally wounded, but they returned to the Mississippi with the loss of only one man, Sergeant Floyd, who died, as has been noted, from a natural cause.

CHAPTER XI.

YEARS OF INDIFFERENCE.

THESE early explorers, like the discoverers, accomplished much with very slender means. We have already noticed that the entire sum appropriated for the Lewis and Clark expedition was only \$2,500. To this a generous government added double pay for the officers and men, during the entire time they were absent, and three hundred and twenty acres of land to each private and non-commissioned officer, one thousand acres to Clark and fifteen hundred to Lewis, a total of less than twelve thousand acres out of nearly two hundred million they had so materially helped to add to the national domain.

But even this beggarly recompense was liberality itself compared with what the discoverers had received. Gray, sailing in a ship of only two hundred and twenty tons, had found the Columbia and got nothing for it. He went to his grave in 1806 probably without ever having heard his name mentioned as a discoverer, outside of his own home port. Small as his ship was she was more than twice as large as her consort, the *Washington*, in which he had first sailed round Cape Horn. And even the *Washington* was larger than most of the vessels in which the Spaniards had slowly felt their way northward along the coast, during more than two hundred and seventy years, from the time of Balboa and Cortez. Many of these had been scarcely better than open boats—most of them were perhaps not better than the caravels in which Columbus had first found his way across the Atlantic. We know that some of those built by Cortez were of not more than twenty tons burden. De Fuca claimed that his voyage in 1592 had been made “in one small caravel and a pinnace, armed with mariners only,” and he offered to make a second voyage, to further explore the strait which now bears his name, and the country in its vicinity, if Michael

Lok would induce Queen Elizabeth to furnish him with "one ship of forty tons and a pinnace." The ships in which Galiano and Valdez explored the Gulf of Georgia were only of about forty-five tons each, as described by Vancouver, and afforded only the most inconvenient accommodations for their officers and crews. Those in which the explorers of other countries sailed were larger, but all were insignificant in comparison with the ships of the present day. John Ledyard saw one of those in which Bering had sailed, at Unalaska, and found it a small affair of not more than thirty tons. Drake's *Golden Hind* was a ship of only one hundred tons. The *Nootka*, in which Meares made one of his voyages, was of two hundred tons. The *Endeavor* and the *Resolution*, commanded by Cook in his last voyage, were of three hundred and seventy, and four hundred and sixty-two tons respectively. The *Discovery*, Vancouver's principal ship, was of four hundred tons, and carried a complement of one hundred men. The size of the *Chatham* is not given, but as she only carried forty-five men she was probably not one-half as large as the *Discovery*.

Probably no army officer of the present day could be found who would undertake to outfit a company of thirty-two men and march them overland from St. Louis to the mouth of the Columbia, for ten times the sum appropriated for the Lewis and Clark expedition, and more than one-third of the sum allowed them was expended for presents to the Indians. Such an expedition today would be armed with revolvers and repeating rifles, with fixed ammunition, instead of the flintlock muskets carried by their hunters and soldiers. It would be in no danger of attack by savages, and in but little from wild beasts. Many conveniences for making camp life comfortable, that were then unknown and

unthought of, would now be thought indispensable. Prepared foods in various forms and of many kinds, easily transported and conveniently made ready for use, even in places where but little fuel is found, or where stormy weather makes cooking difficult, would form a considerable part of a present-day outfit, while wall tents, rubber blankets, and light waterproof covering of various kinds, would afford ample defense against many of the discomforts and inconveniences which members of the Lewis and Clark party suffered as a matter of course. All the dangers and most of the inconveniences of such a trip could now be foreseen and provided against, and a journey over the same route, with such present-day equipment as would be easily obtained, though unprovided with other means of transportation than Lewis and Clark used, if made today by the same number of people, would partake rather of the nature of a summer outing, or other pleasure excursion, than of a toilsome, adventurous or dangerous expedition.

And yet difficult and dangerous as their journey was, and crude as were the means at their command for doing any part of what they had to do, these explorers accomplished all and more than they were instructed to attempt, or than it was hoped they would succeed in doing. They traced out the course of two great rivers—from the mouth of one to its remotest source in the mountains, and from the headwaters of the other to its meeting with the ocean. They observed and described with care and intelligence the country through which both flowed, a large part of which had never before been looked upon by white men. They crossed ranges of mountains of which the world knew but little before their time. In the vast stretch of country through which they passed, they met many tribes of savages, whose existence

was not previously known, conveyed to them their message of peace and good will, and prepared the way for future relations with them. The characteristics of each of these were studied so far as time permitted, and in many cases a tolerable vocabulary of their language was obtained. The latitude and longitude of conspicuous points along the route were scientifically determined, and the route accurately mapped. By the aid of information obtained from the Indians, these maps were extended so as to show generally, and with a considerable approach toward accuracy, the character of a broad expanse of contiguous territory. More than all a surprising amount of information in regard to the climate, and nature of the soil of the various regions visited, and their natural products, both of the animal and vegetable kinds, was collected. Probably no exploring expedition in the history of human progress has accomplished so much at so little cost of life and money.

All that the discoverers had seen of Washington and Oregon was their abrupt and rocky shores, stretching away to a low range of mountains not far from the coast. The shore itself, from the fortieth parallel to the Strait of Fuca, seemed to form "one compact and nearly straight barrier against the sea," as Vancouver had described it. Sailing through the strait and thence into the waters of Admiralty Inlet, he had found the shore still rising with equal abruptness, though penetrated with many inlets and comfortable harbors. He had also noted an interior and higher range of mountains, distinguished by several wonderful, symmetrical, snow-covered peaks, running parallel to the coast range, and separated from it by a valley something more than one hundred miles in width. All that he and other discoverers had seen of the land was covered by a dense evergreen forest. Of its

character and value they knew but little. All this was left to be ascertained by those who should come after them. From Vancouver's point of view the grand land-locked harbor, which he had carefully explored, was the chief thing of value in the country, and it seemed doubly valuable for the reason that there were so few others on the coast. It was this harbor more than all else that the English, in subsequent years, desired to possess.

It remained for Lewis and Clark to ascertain what the country really was, and what it was good for. They found that its great physical characteristic, after the mountain ranges which the discoverers had seen, was the noble river which Gray had discovered and which, after draining an immense interior basin, finds its way through a rocky channel which nature, by some grand convulsion, had made for it through the ranges of mountains which run parallel with the coast, to the ocean. People who are familiar with the charts and drawings used to illustrate books on anatomy, will easily see in this river a counterpart of the venous system of the human form. An imagination, less vivid than that which before the time of Job, pictured a giant in the great constellation of Orion might, without difficulty, form a similar figure upon the map of the Columbia. Lying as it does through or across a great chain of mountains, a Hugo might see in it another and vaster Prometheus chained upon Caucasus. The main channel coursing through a mighty rift in the mountains, is the trunk of the body. The Willamette and the Cowlitz lying nearly opposite each other form the arms, and the two great branches which unite in southeastern Washington, and either of which is larger than the upper reach of the river which geographers have chosen to regard as the main stream, form the legs. It was evidently the

intention of the explorers to name these two great branches for themselves, or rather for each other, but the name of Lewis has disappeared from the southern tributary, while only part of the northern branch is now known as Clark's fork. While there is no lack of natural monuments bearing the names, and so perpetuating the memories of these great explorers, it is to be regretted that these two are not among them. They are so nearly equal in length and volume, and unite so harmoniously to form the great natural feature of the country, by the discovery and exploration of which our title was finally established, that there would have been a singular appropriateness in making them the chief monuments of their fame.

It has already been noted that the information secured by this expedition, interesting as it was, and valuable as it was known to be, was not immediately published. We can hardly comprehend at this day, how Mr. Jefferson, who had conceived the idea of the expedition, and persuaded Congress to make the necessary appropriation to equip and send it out, and who had been so bitterly assailed on account of it during its long absence, should have permitted the evidence of its complete success to remain so long unpublished. There was in his time no such machinery as exists at the present time to make known what it accomplished. There were no energetic newspaper reporters and writers to importune the captains for copies of their reports and journals, or to interview the hunters and common soldiers of the party for stories of their hardships and privations. Four years after their return there were only three hundred and sixty-six newspapers of all kinds published in the United States. Of these only twenty-five were dailies, thirty-six were semi-weekly, fifteen tri-weekly and two hundred and ninety were weeklies. Of

the twenty-five dailies, six were published in New York. Those who will examine the files of these papers today, will note that they differ greatly from those of the present day. No publisher of that time seems to have had any idea of any means by which he could obtain information at first hand from those who had it, except by inducing them to write it out in the form of a letter, and not one of the publishers of that day appears to have sought either Captain Clark or Captain Lewis for that purpose. The bare announcement that they had returned home, and that during their absence they had penetrated through the wilderness to the Pacific Ocean and returned with the loss of only one man, seems to have been about all that the people of that day learned about the expedition from their newspapers. It was only from such imperfect and uncertain publications as those which have already been mentioned, that information about the expedition was disseminated, until the complete journals were published in 1814, through the enterprise of Nicholas Biddle, then a young lawyer, but afterwards more famous as president of the United States bank.

And yet evidence of a keen public interest in the matter was not lacking. Mr. Jefferson himself has left a letter in which he says: "Never did a similar event excite more joy throughout the United States. The humblest of its citizens have taken a lively interest in the issue of this journey, and looked with impatience for the information it should furnish. Nothing short of the official journals of this extraordinary and interesting journey will exhibit the importance of the services—the courage, devotion, zeal and perseverance, under circumstances calculated to discourage, which animated this little party of heroes throughout the long, dangerous and tedious travel." It would seem that under such circumstances

a special effort would have been made to lay the mass of information the expedition had collected before the people who would make use of it, and for whose use it had been obtained. But it was not done. Those were days of simplicity and economy, and perhaps there was a need for both that is not easily understood at the present time. The total revenues of the nation at that time had never exceeded \$15,000,000 a year, and they were usually far below that figure. The total national revenue for 1907 was more than \$665,000,000, and the excess of collections over disbursements was more than six times as much as the average annual revenue during Mr. Jefferson's two terms.

Our progress has been such, during the hundred years since Lewis and Clark's time, that it is difficult to comprehend things as they then were—to transfer ourselves in fancy to that time, and try to see things as the people of that day must have seen them. It does not seem probable that Mr. Jefferson ever seriously anticipated that the Lewis and Clark expedition would do much to hasten the settlement of the country they explored. He did not "hear the march of pioneers, the millions yet to be." There was in his time no need for people to seek homes beyond the Mississippi—barely need to go beyond the Ohio. If he contemplated the settlement of the coast at all, he thought of it, as indicated in one of his letters to Mr. Astor, as peopled "with free and independent Americans, unconnected with us but by the ties of blood and interest, and enjoying, like us, the rights of self-government." It was not to be a part but a counterpart of the United States. The prime object he had in view in sending out the Lewis and Clark expedition, as indicated by his confidential message to Congress, proposing it, was to ascertain whether a practicable route for the transportation

of furs, and of goods suited to the fur trade, lay along the Missouri River, to its headwaters, and thence by a single portage to the waters of the Columbia. If that route were practicable, then the fur trade of the western wilderness which the country had recently acquired by purchase, as well as on that which it had a first claim by right of discovery, as well as by right of continuous possession, might be carried on by an all-water route—or nearly such—by “a choice of channels through the Illinois or Wabash, the lakes and Hudson, through the Ohio and Susquehanna, or Potomac and James Rivers, and through the Tennessee and Savannah Rivers.” By such a route, so far from an all-water route as it would be, it was hoped that the two great fur companies which then controlled the trade of the country northward, and were already doing business on the Missouri, would be placed at a disadvantage, and our own traders would easily drive them from the country.

All that Lewis and Clark found after reaching the great falls of the Missouri helped to dash the hope that any considerable volume of trade could ever be carried on over a water route between the Missouri and the Pacific. The long portage across the mountains, from the junction of the Jefferson, Madison and Gallatin to that of the Clearwater with the Snake, alone made it impossible, while the numberless rapids in the Snake and Columbia rivers added to the difficulty, and it was perhaps for this reason that Mr. Jefferson and others in authority in his time, made so little effort to have the journals of the explorers published. Fulton’s experiment with his steamboat on the Hudson, was still only an experiment, while Mr. Jefferson was president. Even if it should succeed, and realize the fondest hopes of its inventor, and those who believed in or were associated with him,

his boats could never go beyond the falls of the Missouri, or above the Dalles of the Columbia. There would still remain the long interval of several hundred miles between these two points, over which goods must be packed on the shoulders of men or the backs of animals, for in that time, and even down to the time of Mr. Jefferson's death in 1826, nobody guessed at the means by which the great problem of cheap and easy transportation across the continent from ocean to ocean was to be solved.

But while this great problem waited for solution the fur trade, both in the Louisiana and Oregon countries, went forward by the means with which it had been begun. Though Gray and Kendrick had abandoned the coast soon after the Columbia was discovered, other adventurous sailors, backed by equally adventurous merchants, both in the United States and England, visited the coast, with more or less regularity. In 1797 four ships visited the Columbia, all of which hailed from Boston. In 1798 there were ten, in 1800 seven, and in 1801 thirteen, some of which were English and some American. From 1802 to 1809 inclusive twenty-one visits were made to the river, four of which were made by British ships, during the year 1806, the year that Lewis and Clark started homeward. Most or all of these collected their cargoes of furs as Gray and Kendrick, and other traders of their time had done, and then carried them to Canton, which was still the best fur market in the world. Doubtless all or nearly all of them conducted their business as MacKenzie had charged, "without regularity or capital, or the desire for conciliating future confidence,—looking altogether to the interest of the moment." Mr. Irving says they carried on "as wandering and adventurous a commerce on water, as did the traders and trappers on land." They

would run in to any convenient harbor, cast anchor and wait for the natives to bring their peltries on board in their canoes. These they purchased with gay-colored blankets, copper and brass kettles, brass rings, beads and other trinkets, and sometimes with guns and ammunition. When the trade at one place was exhausted they moved on to another. No effort was made to establish friendly relations with the tribes visited, except while the ship was at anchor. Nothing was done with a view to future dealings, and as a consequence many of the tribes were supplied with articles that never should have been placed in their hands, and others were so badly treated as to make them hostile, and in one or two instances they wreaked their vengeance on the crews of other ships. In 1803 the ship *Boston*, commanded by Captain John Slater, was attacked by old Maquinna and his followers, while lying in the harbor at Nootka, and all her crew but two were butchered. These two, one of whom was the armorer, named John R. Jewett, escaped to the shore, but were subsequently captured and held in slavery for four years, when they made their escape by a very clever artifice.*

*Jewett made himself very useful to the Indians during his captivity by mending their guns and making various useful articles for them out of the iron obtained from the captured ship. Because of his usefulness in this way both he and his companion were allowed many liberties by the tribe, although they were really slaves. When the ship, by which they escaped, visited the harbor on which these Indians had their village, they were at first greatly alarmed, fearing it had come to take vengeance for the destruction of the *Boston*. Jewett was anxious to go off to it, but was not permitted to do so. He finally told the chief that he would make some marks on a board and if he would then carry it to the captain he need have no fear. The board was prepared, and in the full confidence that it was "great medicine" the chief carried it on board, where he was immediately seized and held until his two slaves were given up. The Indians were very reluctant to part with them, and promised them everything they could give if they would remain, but once on board the ship they of course did not return.

Jewett subsequently published an account of his escape, which was for a long time a favorite story of adventure with the young. Two years after the capture of the *Boston*, the ship *Atahualpa*, also an American vessel, was attacked while trading in Milbank Sound, and her captain, mate and six seamen were killed. The remaining sailors, after a hard fight, succeeded in repelling the savages and saving the vessel.

It was not until 1810 that any attempt was made to establish trade upon this coast upon a permanent basis. In that year two brothers named Winship, who were already engaged in trade between Boston and Canton, resolved to select a site at some convenient point on the coast, and build a permanent station, where supplies of various kinds could be stored and furs collected, so that their ships could be unloaded and reloaded without loss of time, and the fur trade be established on a more permanent as well as a more profitable basis. One of the brothers, Jonathan, was captain of a ship named *O'Cain*, which visited the California coast, and gathered sandal wood in the islands of the Pacific for the China market. The other, Abiel, conducted the affairs of the firm in Boston. They decided to form a corporation, send a ship to the Columbia, and if a spot suitable for trading purposes could be found on the banks of that river, with ground in the neighborhood suitable for cultivation, a fort should be built and all arrangements made for loading and unloading ships, as well as for receiving and storing goods and trading with the Indians. Their plans were very carefully arranged. A strong block house was to be built, two stories in height and defended by several guns. The upper story was to be made perfectly secure against any attack, so that the inhabitants might retreat to it in case of need, and

in it stand a long siege. A tract of ground was to be cleared and planted, so that the garrison might be supplied with everything that could be raised in the country that their necessities might require or their comfort make desirable. It was foreseen that if the plan should succeed, this post would become the headquarters of a considerable permanent settlement, and might in time provide the means of subsistence for a larger, and perhaps constantly increasing, number of people.

In pursuance of this plan the ship *Albatross*, an old and slow but serviceable sailer, was fitted out and placed under the command of Jonathan Winship. William Smith, a very practical man, whose services were ultimately of great value to the enterprise, was first mate. William A. Gale, whose position was that of captain's assistant, was detailed to keep the journal of the enterprise, and it is from the record thus kept that all that is now known of the history of the undertaking has been obtained.

The *Albatross* sailed from Boston in 1809, reaching Hawaii in the following April, and there, after taking on board a number of goats and other live stock, sailed for the Columbia, which she entered on the 26th of May. She made her way up the river with some difficulty, as those on board knew nothing of its channel, to a point about forty-five miles above the entrance, where the river makes a great bend toward the south, and there they made their first attempt to establish a station. Unfortunately the site was not well chosen. Scientific observation had not, in their day, proceeded so far as to note that rivers flowing in a generally east and west course, are subject to sudden rise and overflow, on account of the simultaneous melting of the snows along their banks and upper tributaries. The site selected was on low but

evidently very fertile ground, near the bank of the river, where the land was covered with luxuriant grass, while on a somewhat higher ridge there was a fine grove of oak trees. On the fourth day after the arrival of the ship at this attractive spot, plans were made to begin building. Ground was cleared both for a house and a garden, and seeds were planted as fast as the ground was made ready for them. Within a few days a considerable space had been planted, and very satisfactory progress had been made with building. Then the weather turned cloudy and a heavy rain fell. The river rose rapidly, the garden was soon overflowed and all the land for a considerable distance about them was submerged. It was now evident that another spot must be selected. The party accordingly moved to higher ground a little further down the river, above the reach of floods, and to this the logs were floated but the garden was entirely destroyed.

They had scarcely begun to rebuild before they were visited by Indians in considerable numbers, and their conduct was far from reassuring. They made various replies as to the cause of their visit, but none of them were very satisfactory, and as their numbers continued to increase the party began to be anxious for their safety. Various attempts were made to come to an understanding with them but none proved successful. They did not object to the establishment of the post particularly, but they were evidently opposed to its location at or near the site which had been chosen for it. They had been accustomed for some years previously to obtain goods direct from the ships which entered the river and proceeded no farther than its mouth, and with these goods they carried on a profitable trade with the Indians living farther in the interior. They now felt if this post was established they would be deprived of this trade, and it

was not possible to remove this objection from their minds. They were so evidently hostile to any further continuation of work on the fort, that it was abandoned and the enterprise, so far as any attempt to locate on the Columbia was concerned, was given up. The Albatross weighed anchor and soon left the river, whence she sailed to California and Hawaii and did not return again until she came under charter by Wilson P. Hunt of the Astoria colony. The second attempt to make a permanent settlement in the valley of the Columbia had failed.

A first attempt had been made a year earlier, by one of those adventurous spirits who had been engaged for many years before Lewis and Clark's time, in efforts to push the American fur trade westward along the various rivers flowing into the Missouri. Among these were two brothers named Auguste and Pierre Choteau, who had been with Laclede when he fixed the site of the present city of St. Louis, in 1764. They had come up the river from New Orleans, the French governor of which had given Laclede a monopoly of the fur-trading business of the whole Louisiana territory. They were followed a few years later by Manuel Lisa, a still more crafty and enterprising trader. For several years they found abundant opportunity for the exercise of their activities in their own immediate neighborhood, but in time they gradually extended their trade into more distant regions. Auguste Choteau and a party of traders were met by Lewis and Clark on their return down the Missouri, at a point above the present city of Omaha. Still further up the river, and near the mouth of Floyd's River, the explorers had met James Airs, who had come out from Mackinaw by way of Prairie du Chien, and before reaching St. Louis they had met no less than seven other parties, who were either on trading or

hunting expeditions. Some of these were French and some Canadians, but most of them were Americans.

In the year 1808, only two years after the return of Lewis and Clark, the Missouri Fur Company was formed with a capital of forty thousand dollars, and with Captain Clark, Manual Lisa, and four French merchants of St. Louis for its principal stockholders. This Company outfitted a party under the command of Alexander Henry, for the upper waters of the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers. Henry was a man of no mean ability. He was a plainsman of experience, and a man of great courage and perseverance, as well as of considerable intellectual ability and education. He kept a journal during the entire time that he was engaged in the fur business, which has been edited by Dr. Elliott Coues, and contains much matter of historical interest and value. He did not succeed in establishing a trading post on the upper Missouri, as had been planned, on account of the hostility of the Blackfeet, who had compelled Captain Lewis to retire so hastily from their country two years earlier. But rather than return with nothing accomplished he decided to cross the Rocky Mountains and establish a post on the headwaters of the Snake River. This he did in 1809, erecting a fort on the bank of the tributary of the Snake which now bears his name, and this was the first building erected by Americans for permanent occupancy west of the Rocky Mountains. His plans, however, did not succeed as satisfactorily as he had hoped, and the post was abandoned in the same year that the Winship brothers gave up their undertaking.

In the same year that Henry started for the headwaters of the Missouri, as an agent of the Missouri Fur Company, William Weir, grandfather of Hon. Allen Weir, set out from St. Louis with a company of independent trappers in the

same direction. In 1809, in company with nine others, he crossed the range and spent the summer months hunting and trapping along the upper tributaries of the Columbia, following the smaller streams down to and beyond their confluence with the great river. As winter approached they were near the Cascades, which they crossed and spent some time in the Willamette Valley. They returned to the Missouri during the following summer. Another and smaller party of hunters are said to have spent the winter of 1810 near the mouth of the Columbia, but no one of these remained, or thought of remaining permanently in the country.

CHAPTER XII.

THE ASTOR EXPEDITION BY SEA.

BUT the time was now at hand when an effort, planned with more skill, supported by more capital and directed with more intelligence and energy, was to be made to plant a permanent American settlement on the Pacific Coast. It was to have the best wishes of a rather feeble national administration, and but little more from that source, for the popular theory of government at that time was that it ought not to be specially helpful to anybody, nor specially powerful even for its own defense, lest it might become dangerous to somebody. A lieutenant in the navy was to be given leave of absence in order that he might command one of the first ships sent to establish a fortified trading post on the Columbia, and later a war ship would be furnished, upon special application, to escort a ship out of New York harbor, and prevent any British cruiser that might be lurking near, from impressing any of her seamen or passengers. This much Mr. Madison's administration would do to encourage American industry and enterprise but nothing more.

And yet the purpose of the undertaking was to reclaim the fur trade of our northern possessions, east of the Rocky Mountains, from the English companies, who were already in possession of it, and prevent them from getting control of the trade of the Columbia, and with it the whole Oregon country.

This undertaking had been planned and was to be promoted by a foreign-born resident of New York, who had arrived there little more than twenty years earlier, but was already its wealthiest and most enterprising merchant. His name was John Jacob Astor. He was one of those men who do things in this world. Born in the little village of Waldorf, near Heidelberg on the Rhine, he grew to manhood among the simple surroundings of country life. While

still scarcely more than a youth he went to London, where without capital, and with the disadvantage of foreign birth, he began a career which distinguished him as one of the most successful business men of his time. He remained in London until the close of the American revolution, when he resolved to visit the United States. An older brother had been in the new country for some time, and this fact doubtless had something to do in fixing his determination, though it does not appear that he obtained any assistance or even encouragement from that source.

Investing the small sum which he had saved since leaving his native village, in merchandise suited to the American market, he left London in 1783, on board a ship bound for Baltimore, and arrived at Hampton Roads in the month of January 1784. The winter was extremely severe and the ship, with several others, was detained by the ice in Chesapeake Bay for nearly three months. During this time Mr. Astor became acquainted with a fellow countryman who was engaged in the fur trade. From him he seems to have acquired much information that was of value in after years. Through this acquaintance he was induced to invest the proceeds of his merchandise in furs, and with these he returned to London in 1784, disposed of them to advantage, made himself further acquainted with the course of the trade, and returned in the same year to New York, determined to remain there permanently.

He now devoted himself to the fur business, with which he had thus casually been made acquainted. He began in a very moderate way, having but little capital, but he brought to the business a persevering industry, rigid economy and strict integrity, and a never wavering confidence of final success.

JOHN JACOB ASTOR

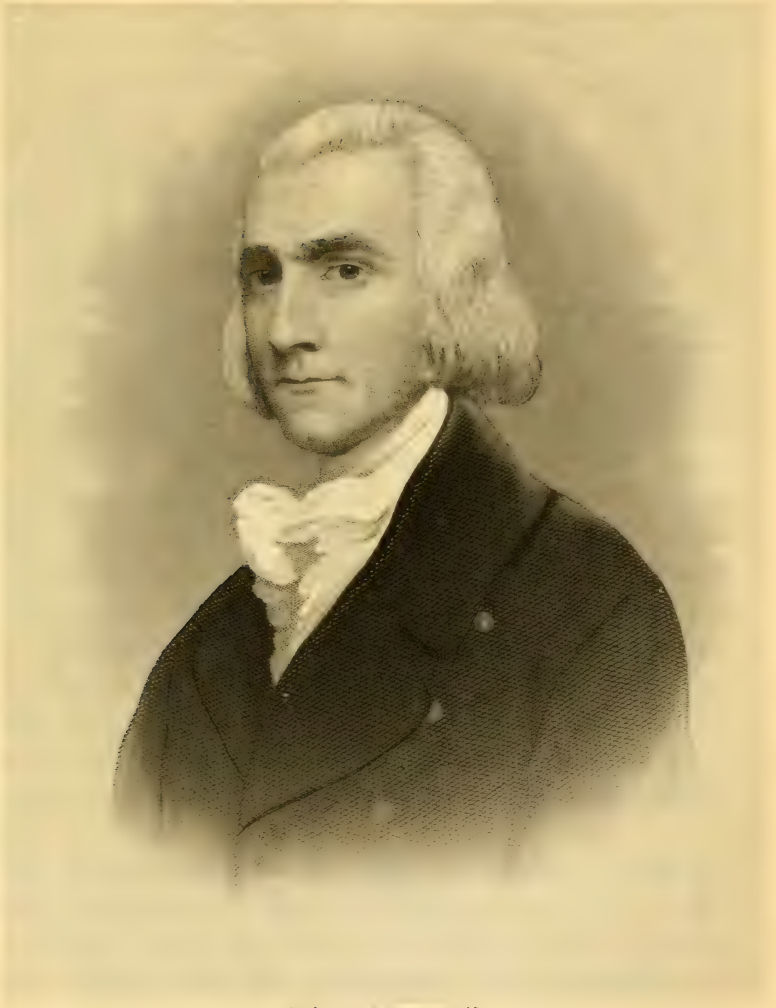
Born in Waldorf, Germany, July 17, 1763. Came to the United States in 1783, and engaged in the fur business in New York. Organized the Pacific Fur Company in 1810, and sent one party by sea and another by land to the mouth of the Columbia, where Astoria was founded in 1811.



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Engraving by J. B. Kneller

JOHN JACOB ASTOR

At this time the trade in peltries was not organized in the United States, and indeed had scarcely proceeded so far as to form a regular line of business anywhere outside of Canada. A few skins were casually collected by country traders in their dealings with Indians or white hunters, but the main supply, so far as the United States were concerned, was derived from Canada, where two great fur companies had been, for many years, actively engaged in prosecuting the business with great energy and enterprise. As Mr. Astor's means increased he made annual visits to Montreal, where he purchased furs and shipped them direct to London, no trade from that colony being then allowed to any but the mother country. But Jay's famous treaty, signed in November 1794, removed the restrictions on the fur trade, and opened the way for direct intercourse between Canada and the United States. Mr. Astor was in London at the time, and immediately made a contract with the agents of the Northwest Company for furs. He was now able to bring them into the United States from Montreal, in sufficient quantity to supply the home market, and also for shipment to different parts of Europe, as well as to China, which had for many years been the best market in the world for the largest and finest peltries.

After the surrender of the posts at Oswego, Niagara, Detroit, Mackinaw and other points along or near the boundary between Canada and the United States, which England so long withheld after the conclusion of the revolutionary war, a new opportunity was offered for American traders to collect their own furs, in a large fur-bearing region from which they had, up to that time, been excluded. After a time Mr. Astor embarked in this trade on his own account.

His capital had now become considerable through his judicious and enterprising management, and he was beginning to take a place among the first merchants and citizens of the country. With all his enterprise and resources, however, he soon found the influence of the Canadian companies, particularly the one that controlled the post at Mackinaw, was too great for him. It was, therefore, necessary for him to make some new arrangements, in order to carry on the competition successfully. He was aware that the American government would naturally desire that the fur trade within its own boundaries should be in the hands of American citizens. But such measures as it had taken to encourage American capital to engage in the trade, had so far been ineffectual. He accordingly offered, if given protection by the government, to turn the whole of that trade into American channels. He was invited to disclose his plans to the president and his cabinet, and upon doing so they were warmly approved, but never aided or very much encouraged. He, however, obtained from the New York State government in 1809 a charter, incorporating the American Fur Company with a capital of one million dollars, with the privilege of increasing it to two millions. This capital he furnished himself, and the business of the Company was established and thenceforth directed solely by his own genius and enterprise.

The Mackinaw Company was for a long time his most active rival, and the competition between it and the American Company very materially reduced the profits of both. To avoid this competition and consequent loss, he arranged in 1811 with certain partners in the Northwest Company, one of the Canadian concerns, to buy out the Mackinaw competitor, and its business and that of the American Fur Company were merged into a new concern called the Southwest Fur

Company. This arrangement was also approved by the government at Washington. By it Mr. Astor became proprietor of one-half of the Indian establishments and goods which the Mackinaw Company had within the territory of the United States, and it was understood that the whole was to be surrendered into his hands at the expiration of five years, on condition that the American Company would not trade within the British dominions. Unluckily the war which broke out in 1812, between the United States and Great Britain, suspended the association, and after the war it was entirely dissolved, Congress having passed a law prohibiting British fur traders from pursuing their enterprises within the United States.

After the return of Lewis and Clark, and the results of their explorations had begun to be known, though in a general and very indefinite way, Mr. Astor began to turn his attention to the possibilities of so far extending his business as to control the entire fur trade of the United States, on both coasts. In time he worked out a plan which, to his sagacious mind, seemed to be entirely practicable, and within his means, provided he could have the encouragement and, in case of need, the protection of the government. The main feature of this plan was to establish, as soon as possible, a main trading station on the Pacific Coast at the mouth of the Columbia. This was to be the principal center where furs were to be collected, and from which supplies would be distributed to interior posts as they should be established, along the great river and its branches. These would, in time, be connected with another line of posts along the Missouri, and thence by the Mississippi to the Great Lakes, or by some other more advantageous route to New York. From these posts the whole trade with the Indians in American

territory would be controlled. The furs collected from the great fur-bearing region west of the mountains would be centered at the mouth of the Columbia, and shipped thence to the China market, where they would be exchanged for teas, silks, and nankeens, which would in turn be sent to New York, to the markets of Europe, or wherever they could be most advantageously sold. The central business on the Columbia would be supplied by a line of ships, sent out annually at first from New York, and subsequently as often as there might be need to do so. Perhaps in time it would be possible to send supplies by the overland route, and if the market should require it, to bring furs eastward over that line. There was a prospect also that an advantageous trade might be built up with the Russian Fur Company, already established on the coast further north, and his design was not to produce a hostile rivalry with it, but to arrange to furnish it with such supplies as might be required for the purposes of trade, or for the subsistence of its employees, from his main station on the coast. The Russian government had already suggested to Mr. Adams, our minister to St. Petersburg, that an arrangement by which its fur-trading posts on the Pacific could be regularly supplied by American ships, and even that American ships should carry their furs to the China market, would be agreeable to it, and Mr. Astor, through his correspondence with Mr. Jefferson, was doubtless aware of this. He accordingly made it a part of his plan to provide means, as rapidly as possible, to produce food supplies in the Columbia River Valley, not only for the support of his own posts but to furnish the Russians as well.

It seems to be probable, as Mr. Irving claims, that Mr. Astor really had in view something more than a commercial enterprise, and that he was actuated by a loftier purpose than

that of mere individual gain. "He was already wealthy beyond the desires of man," says Mr. Irving, "and now aspired to that honorable fame which is awarded to men of singular sagacity of mind, who by their great commercial enterprises, have enriched nations, peopled wildernesses and extended the bounds of empires. He considered his projected establishment at the mouth of the Columbia, as the emporium to an immense commerce; as a colony that would form the germ of a wide civilization; that would in fact, carry the American possessions across the Rocky Mountains, and spread it along the shores of the Pacific, as it had already animated the shores of the Atlantic."

His plans to accomplish this great project, were well and carefully laid, and probably would have succeeded but for the war of 1812. They might even have survived that calamity if he could have chosen his assistants, who were to have charge of the enterprise on the coast, from among those who were at once experienced and seasoned to the fur business, and loyal to the American government.

Mr. Astor had anticipated and carefully calculated the extent of the competition he would be required to meet from the Canadian companies, which had been long established, and had already explored, to some extent, the country west of the mountains, knew its value, would be likely to make a vigorous effort to secure a large part of its valuable trade, and most likely wish to control it. The Northwest Fur Company already had two or three stations beyond the mountains, which had been planted there by Simon Fraser. Should it persist in its efforts to extend its trade there, its competition would be seriously detrimental to his plans. It would have to contend with him at a considerable disadvantage, because of the checks and restrictions to which it was subjected. It

would have no good harbor on the Pacific, where supplies could be received by sea, nor if it had one could it ship furs thence to China, as that great market was monopolized, so far as British trade was concerned, by the East India Company. Its posts, already established beyond the mountains, could only be supplied with goods carried a long distance overland, by precarious and expensive routes, and the furs collected must be sent to market by the same expensive transportation. Still, in order to avoid any possible competition, and make his undertaking more secure from the outset, he laid his plans before some of the stockholders in the Northwest Company, and proposed to them to take a one-third interest in his enterprise. This proposition seemed for a time to be regarded with some favor, but after some negotiation and delay, it was given up, and it was afterward found that while the negotiations were going on, and the Canadian traders were pretending to be so favorably impressed with Mr. Astor's proposition, they had secretly dispatched a party of their own to the mouth of the Columbia to establish a post there before Mr. Astor's expedition could arrive and take possession.

It was now necessary for him to proceed alone, and he did so with entire confidence of ultimate success. His first anxiety was to secure proper assistants who were habituated to the Indian trade and to life in the wilderness. These he could only find among the people who had been employed by the Canadian companies, for no Americans had yet the experience which was essential to success in this undertaking. He hoped to find and did find persons of capacity and experience, who had served out their probationary terms with the Canadian companies and who, either through lack of interest and influence, or want of vacancies, had not secured the

promotion which they had hoped and worked for, and which they were really entitled to receive. They were consequently dissatisfied and ready for any employment in which their talent and acquirements might be turned to better account.

He easily found and arranged with a number of these to take service with him on the terms he proposed. First among them was Alexander McKay, who had accompanied MacKenzie on both his great exploring expeditions, to the Arctic and Pacific oceans. Two others were Duncan McDougal and Donald MacKenzie, and to these were added later, David Stuart and his nephew Robert Stuart. The clerks were Gabriel Franchere, Alexander Ross, Wm. Matthews, James Levevre, Russel Farnham, Thomas McKay, Donal McGillis, Ovide de Montigny, Francis B. Pillet; Donald McLennan and Wm. Wallace, mechanics; Stephen Weekes, armorer; Wm. Cannon, millwright, and nine voyageurs. To these was subsequently added Mr. Wilson Price Hunt of New Jersey, a native-born citizen of the United States, and a man of great ability and worth, who was to be Mr. Astor's chief agent, and represent him in the contemplated establishment, after he should arrive on the coast.

On the 23d of June 1810, McKay, McDougal, MacKenzie, Hunt and Mr. Astor signed articles of agreement, and formed the Pacific Fur Company. According to these articles Mr. Astor was to be the head of the Company and manage its affairs in New York. He was to furnish vessels, goods, provisions, arms, ammunition and all the other requisites of the enterprise at first cost, provided they did not at any time involve an advance of more than four hundred thousand dollars. The capital stock of the Company was to be divided into one hundred equal shares, fifty of which were to belong to Mr. Astor and the other fifty were to be divided

among the partners and their associates. Mr. Astor was to have the privilege of introducing other persons into the Company as partners, two of whom at least should be familiar with the Indian trade, and none of them was to be entitled to more than three shares. A general meeting of the Company was to be held annually, at the Columbia Station, for the examination and regulation of its affairs, and at this meeting absent members might be represented, and might vote by proxy, under certain specified conditions. If successful, the association was to continue for twenty years, but the partners had full power to abandon and dissolve it within the first five years, if found to be unprofitable. For this term Mr. Astor agreed to bear all the loss that might be incurred. After five years it was to be borne by all of the partners in proportion to their holdings. The other partners agreed to execute faithfully such duties as might be given them, by a majority of the Company, on the northwest coast, and to repair to such place or places as the majority might direct. An agent appointed for the term of five years was to reside at the principal establishment, on the Columbia, and Mr. Hunt was chosen for the first term. Should the interest of the concern at any time require his absence, a person was to be appointed, in general meeting, to take his place. On such conditions the Company was founded and preparations were immediately begun to carry out its great undertaking.

The plan was to send one party out by ship, by way of Cape Horn, to establish the principal post, open trade with the Indians, and begin to establish branch posts as soon as possible. Another party was to go overland by the route Lewis and Clark had explored, or any other that might seem more practicable, to select the points where trading posts should be established east of the mountains and on the upper

waters of the Columbia, and generally to fix the line along which the business of the Company would be carried by land, as soon as it should be started. Mr. Hunt was to organize and command the latter party, and McDougal was given Mr. Astor's proxy, and authorized to act for him, at the new post, until Mr. Hunt should arrive.

The preliminary arrangements having been completed, the four partners, McKay, McDougal, MacKenzie and David Stuart, together with the twelve clerks, nine Canadian voyageurs, the armorer, and the millwright, prepared for their departure. Before sailing Mr. Astor required his partners to take the oath of allegiance to the United States, a very proper precaution, inasmuch as they were going to found an American colony, according to his intentions. They readily consented to do this, but apparently did so without intending to carry their promise into effect. Instead they called upon the British minister, who was then in New York, and asked his advice, and although he apparently informed them that it would be quite the proper thing for them to do, it is not at all certain that they or any of them took the trouble to follow his advice. They, or some of them at least, subsequently made a virtue of this conduct on their part, though it must have been apparent that in addition to playing false with their partner and backer at the outset, they were disclosing information that should have been kept secret, and to the one person in the country who would be most likely to make unfavorable use of it.

The ship *Tonquin*, of two hundred and ninety tons, had been made ready to convey them to the Pacific. She was loaded with everything that would be required to establish and defend the new post until another ship should arrive in the succeeding year, as well as to outfit and arm such subposts

as they would be likely to establish meantime. She also carried out the frame of a small schooner, which was to be completed for use in the coasting trade, as soon as possible after their arrival. The *Tonquin* was commanded by Captain Thorn, a lieutenant in the navy, who had been given leave of absence for this special service, was armed with ten guns for her defense, and carried a crew of twenty men. She sailed from New York September 8, 1810, and as it had been intimated that a British war ship was lurking off the harbor, and might claim the right of search, under the pretext of desiring to recapture deserting British sailors supposed to be on board, the frigate *Constitution* was, by special request, assigned to give her safe conduct to sea.

Once out of sight of land and beyond the reach of danger from British ships, except by a chance meeting, signs of those elements of weakness which were to so greatly lessen the prospects for the success of the enterprise began to appear. Thorn, as captain of the ship, was disposed to assert his full authority, and began to lay down rules for regulating the conduct of all on board, that were not at all relished by his passengers. Accustomed to the free life of the woods, or in distant fur-trading posts, where for the most part they did pretty much as they pleased with everything except the Company's property, they were not at all inclined to obey Thorn's petty regulations. Moreover four of the party did not forget that they were partners in the enterprise and one of them, McDougal, was armed with Mr. Astor's proxy, and authority to act for him in his absence. They insisted that the ship and its cargo were theirs, and as many people do who find themselves in possession of considerable property, after having long been content with little or nothing, they were disposed to do many things they would never have dared to do

with property they regarded as belonging solely to an employer. They wanted to have the ship touch at the Cape Verde Islands, so that they might say they had been in Africa, and at some point on the shore of Patagonia, so that they might see the giant natives of that country. They also laid plans to visit the island of Juan Fernandez, where Robinson Crusoe had so long resided, and Easter Island, the inhabitants of which they had heard were very comely. They proposed to open certain packages of trading goods, under various pretexts, and generally displayed a disposition to do numerous things which the captain considered altogether irregular and not at all to be tolerated. They wanted to loaf about the deck or in the cabin, smoking and singing their French and Canadian boat songs, at all hours of the day or night, much as they had been accustomed to do in their camps or trading stations in the wilderness. Captain Thorn had no liking for that sort of thing, but would have everybody conduct himself according to the strict regulations of the navy. He ordered all lights out at 8 o'clock, that all sleeping quarters, by whoever occupied, should be kept scrupulously clean and tidy, and regularly aired, and that all on board should take exercise at frequent intervals. The partners protested that they were entitled to do as they pleased on their own ship. They grumbled at the food furnished them, and the captain retorted that he had heard them boast to Mr. Astor of their ability to endure privation, and that they could even eat dog if necessary. Day by day the irritation increased. At times an open rupture seemed probable. At the Falkland Islands, where the water casks were to be replenished, and some trifling repairs to the ship made, some of the party went ashore, and when they did not return promptly as they had promised to do, the captain attempted to sail away without

them. They sprang into their boat as soon as they saw the ship putting to sea, and rowed sturdily for some hours without overtaking her. Finally Robert Stuart drew a pistol and threatened the captain with instant death if he did not shorten sail and wait till they came up. Captain Thorn wrote to Mr. Astor, at the first opportunity, describing this incident, and declaring that he would have left the party if the wind had not failed him. He regretted that he had not been able to do so, for, said he, "they seem to have no idea of the value of property, nor any apparent regard for your interest, although interwoven with their own."

At the Hawaiian, then called the Sandwich Islands, they had a similar experience. The captain desired to purchase some hogs, and found they could only be obtained from Kameameha himself, who was then all-powerful in the islands. But he was not on the island at which the ship first touched. The partners and several of the clerks went ashore, and as at the Falklands could not be induced to return to the ship when desired to do so. They wanted to visit the spot where Captain Cook was murdered, and bring away some souvenirs from that memorable spot; to see the interior, talk with the natives, and particularly to have a long visit with an English sailor, who had been abandoned there some years before, and had now risen to a position of some dignity and influence as one of Kameameha's lieutenants. When the king was finally found, and came off to visit the ship, arrayed in the barbaric splendor of a much-worn English uniform, the partners also appeared in scarlet coats, received him with much ceremony, and proceeded to regale him with wine and such other good cheer as their own restricted supply enabled them to produce. All this seemed very preposterous to the choleric captain, who was anxious only to purchase

pork and such other supplies as a strict construction of Mr. Astor's instructions permitted. He could scarcely restrain his contempt, or his impatience to be rid of his troublesome passengers, but he relieved his mind to some extent by writing thus to Mr. Astor. "It would be difficult to imagine," he writes, "the frantic gambols that are daily played off here; sometimes dressing in red coats, and otherwise very fantastically, and collecting a number of ignorant natives around them, telling them that they are the great *earis* of the northwest, and making arrangements for sending three or four vessels yearly to them from the coast with spars, etc.; while those very natives cannot even furnish a hog to the ship. Then dressing in Highland plaids and kilts, and making similar arrangements, with presents of wine, or anything that is at hand. Then taking a number of clerks and men on shore to the very spot on which Captain Cook was killed, and each fetching off a piece of the rock or tree that was touched by the shot. Then sitting down with some white men, or some native who can be a little understood, and collecting the history of those islands, of Kameameha's wars, the curiosities of the islands, etc., preparatory to the histories of their voyages; and the collection is indeed ridiculously contemptible. To enumerate the thousand instances of ignorance, filth, etc., or to particularize all the frantic gambols that are daily practiced, would require volumes."

The Tonquin left the islands on February 28, and arrived off the mouth of the Columbia on March 22. The weather was stormy, and the breakers presented a most forbidding appearance. Captain Thorn was without either chart or pilot, but such was his anxiety to get to the end of his voyage, and get the partners and their goods on shore, that ordinary precautions seem to have been forgotten. He had begun

to suspect that they were meditating some design to seize the ship and depose him from the command. The mouth of the Columbia is four miles wide, and there was no inviting opening in the breakers which stretched across it, and he did not deem it prudent to approach within three leagues of the shore without, by some means, finding the channel. In his impatience he ordered his mate, Mr. Fox, with one sailor and three of the Canadian voyageurs, to take the whaleboat and make soundings as the ship advanced. The whaleboat was not in good condition for such service and the mate, knowing this, asked that it might at least be manned by sailors. But this the captain refused, saying: "If you are afraid of the water you should never have left Boston, Mr. Fox," and that the sailors could not be spared from the ship. Full of misgivings as to the result, the mate reluctantly lowered away his boat, saying to one of the partners, as he went over the ship's side, that his uncle had been drowned in these waters only a few years earlier, and he was going to lay his own bones beside his uncle's. Leaving the ship the boat pulled steadily off toward the breakers and was soon lost to sight. Neither the boat nor any of its crew were ever afterwards seen. The poor mate's premonitions did not deceive him.

All that night and the following day the ship remained as near to the shore as prudence would permit, in the vain hope that the boat and her crew might return. The next night the wind subsided to some extent, and on the second day the ship, having drifted nearer land, anchored in fourteen fathoms of water, and considerably farther north opposite Cape Disappointment. The pinnacle was then manned and David Stuart and Mr. McKay set off to find the entrance. But the breakers ran so high that they were compelled to

return although several natives appeared on shore, and tried by signs to encourage them to row around the cape. Later in the day, as the wind favored, the ship was allowed to drift in still nearer toward the shore, and another party was sent out in the pinnace, under command of the second mate, to make soundings, but failed as McKay and Stuart had done to get far from the ship. The captain now finding his position perilous, and hourly becoming more so, ordered a seaman named Aiken, who was to command the small ship, the frame of which formed part of the Tonquin's cargo, as soon as she could be made ready for service, the ship's sail-maker and Weekes the armorer, with two of the Kanakas, who had been brought from the Sandwich Islands, to go ahead of the ship and make soundings as she drifted in under easy sail. In this way they were more successful than the other parties had been, and when the channel was finally found they started to return on board, but being in the current, were carried past the ship, and out toward the sea. The boat soon turned broadside to the waves, and when last seen from the ship her case seemed desperate. It was impossible to send to her assistance; the ship now required the attention of all on board. She was in shallow water and struck repeatedly. The waves broke over her, and for a time the danger that she would founder seemed imminent. But she finally drifted over the bar, and night coming on, the anchor was let go in seven fathoms of water. On the following day Weekes and one of the islanders were found alive and rescued, but the sailor and sail-maker were never heard from. Thus eight lives were lost by this ill-managed party when almost within sight of their final destination.

Having got to harbor, though with so great loss on account of his own rash and impetuous management, Captain Thorn

began to display his ill-considered anxiety to get all on board, and all that belonged to them on land. Accompanied by some of the partners he explored the north shore of the river for some distance, in search of a suitable place to build the fort, but as usual they could not agree about anything. The partners wished to explore the south shore, but he contended that this was only an unnecessary waste of time. In his impatience he threatened to set them all ashore, and all the goods that were to be left with them, at any point where it was most convenient, unless they at once agreed upon a selection. Fortunately the partners were not alarmed by his angry protestations, and went about the business they had in hand with sufficient deliberation to choose wisely. After examining the shore along both sides of the bay to their satisfaction, they selected Point George, as Broughton had named it, as the site for their principal station. This point is on the Oregon side of the river, about ten miles within the harbor, and was well sheltered by a wooded hill from the south and southwest sides. It was accessible from the sea, and had the advantage of being easily reached by boats or canoes from up the river. It was easily agreed to name the place Astoria.

To a convenient anchorage near this spot the Tonquin was moved by favoring winds and tides, and the work of clearing the site for the fort, and erecting such temporary buildings as were required to shelter the party and their goods, until more substantial structures could be completed, was actively begun. The weather favored these operations. The ocean, recently so boisterous and threatening, became calm. Spring flowers appeared, and "all the trees on all the hills, opened their thousand leaves." Many of the natives, whose acquaintance the partners had made, during their exploration, and with whom friendly relations were already beginning

ASTORIA

An early picture, probably made soon after the port was established in 1811.



and a carpenter for the vessel, and a cooper to get all on board, and all that belonged to them on land. Accompanied by some of the partners he explored the north shore of the river at some distance, in search of a suitable place to build the fort, but as usual they could not agree about anything. The partners wished to explore the south shore, but he contended that this was only an unnecessary waste of time. In his impatience he threatened to let them all ashore, and all the goods that were to be left with them, at any point where it was most convenient, unless they at once agreed upon a selection. Fortunately the partners were not alarmed by his angry pronouncement, and went about the business they had at hand with a more deliberate pace to choose wisely. After discussing the shore along both sides of the bay to their mutual satisfaction, they returned to the fort, and there found secured in all the stores that were provided for them. The place was an excellent harbor, and the anchorage was a goodly harbor, the growth and abundance of timber was enormous, and had the advantage of being easily reached by using the canoes from up the river. It was a goodly place, the place Astoria.

The construction of the fort was the first work the Ponquin was moved by to doing work, and the work of clearing the site for the new fort required the erection of temporary buildings as were required to shelter the party and their goods, until more substantial ones could be completed, was actively begun. The weather favored these operations. The ocean, recently so boisterous and threatening, became calm. Spring flowers appeared, and the vegetation on all the hills, opened their thousand leaves." "Interested in the natives, whose acquaintance the partners had made, during their exploration, and with whom friendly relations were already beginning



to be established, gathered about, and watched the proceedings with great interest, occasionally offering their services and rendering effective assistance. Under such conditions work progressed favorably, and by the first of June had advanced so far that Captain Thorn, who had continued to make himself as peevishly disagreeable as possible, and was morbidly anxious to start on the cruise along the coast which Mr. Astor had authorized him to make, for the purpose of trade with the Indians, was able to put on shore the portion of goods intended for the fort, and make ready for sea.

By June 5th he was ready to sail. With him went Mr. McKay, the most experienced and most capable of all the men in the company. Had he been entrusted with the authority and responsibility that were unfortunately given to McDougal, the fate of the enterprise might have been very different.

On their way out of the harbor they picked up, from a fishing canoe, an Indian named Lamazee, who claimed to have already made two voyages along the coast, and to know something of the language of the various tribes. He agreed to accompany them as interpreter. Steering to the north the Tonquin arrived in a few days at Vancouver Island, and anchored in the harbor of Clayoquot, then known by the Indian name of Neweetee, very much against the advice of the Indian interpreter, who warned Captain Thorn that the Indians in that neighborhood were not friendly, and were possessed of an altogether vicious and perfidious character. But the captain would accept no advice from the interpreter, any more than he would receive it from his passengers. Numbers of canoes immediately came up, bringing sea otter and various other skins to sell. It was too late in the day to begin trading, but Mr. McKay, accompanied by a few

of the men, went on shore to visit Wicanish, the chief of several tribes in that neighborhood. Six of the natives remained on board as hostages during his absence. He was received with great professions of friendship and hospitality, and was prevailed upon to pass the night at the house of the chief. In the morning, before he returned to the ship, great numbers of the natives had surrounded it in their canoes and seemed very anxious to trade. As they brought an abundance of very desirable skins, Captain Thorn did not wait for Mr. McKay's return but displayed his goods upon the deck, making a tempting show of blankets, highly colored cloths, knives, beads, fish-hooks, and various other articles, expecting to begin a very active and profitable business. But the Indians were not as simple and eager as he had expected, as they had learned the art of bargaining and the value of merchandise from more than twenty years' acquaintance with the traders who had visited the coast. They were influenced to a large extent also by a shrewd old chief named Nookamis, who had grown gray in trafficking with the New England skippers, and prided himself on his acuteness. His opinion seemed to control the market. When Captain Thorn made what he regarded as a liberal offer for an otter skin, the old Indian refused it and demanded a price more than double. All the others followed his example and not a single skin could the captain obtain at any reasonable rate.

He was as easily angered by his want of success as a trader, as he had been by the various petty affairs which had annoyed him during his long voyage. He lacked patience and knew absolutely nothing of the artifices of trade. He had, moreover, a thorough contempt for the whole Indian race. Abandoning all further attempt to do business with his trifling

customers, he thrust his hands into his pockets and paced up and down the deck in solemn silence. The old Indian followed him to and fro, holding out an otter skin to him at every turn, and finally finding all other means unavailing began to jeer at the terms offered by the angry captain. This was too much and turning suddenly upon his persecutor, Captain Thorn snatched the proffered otter skin from his hands, rubbed his tormentor's face with it and then kicked him over the side of the ship. This put an end to all further possibility of trade for the day. All the Indians retired to their canoes, took their peltries with them and left the ship in no very agreeable humor.

When Mr. McKay returned on board the interpreter informed him of what had happened, and begged him to prevail on the captain to leave the place at once, as he was certain that the tribe would resent the indignities which had been offered to one of its chiefs, and most likely attempt some plan to take revenge. McKay, who had himself had much experience with the Indians, realized that there was some danger of an attack, and as there was no further prospect of profitable trade at this point, advised the captain to make sail and try some other. But Captain Thorn would not be advised. He made light of what had occurred, and pointing to his cannon, assured Mr. McKay that he would be abundantly able to defend the ship against any possible attack. Further remonstrance only provoked a further show of ill temper, and the day passed without other incident, none of the Indians attempting to return on board.

On the following morning at daybreak, however, while the captain and Mr. McKay were both still asleep, a canoe came alongside in which were twenty Indians, under command of a son of old Wicanish. As they appeared to be unarmed

and expressed a desire to trade they were allowed to come on board. Before leaving New York Captain Thorn had been instructed by Mr. Astor to permit only a few Indians at a time to come on board ship, after he should begin to trade with them, but this instruction the captain had never taken pains to regard. As he had allowed as many Indians to come on board as desired to do so, when they displayed a disposition to trade, his subordinates did the same when he was not present. By the time the captain and McKay appeared on deck it was thronged with Indians, and some of the members of the crew were beginning to feel greatly alarmed. The interpreter called McKay's attention to the fact that many of the Indians wore short mantles of skins, under which he suspected they secretly carried arms. McKay himself felt some uneasiness at the appearance of things, and urged the captain to clear the ship and get under way, but his recommendation was no more heeded than on other occasions. The number of canoes about the ship steadily increased, and numbers of others were seen putting off from shore. The Indians on board were principally anxious to trade for knives, and these were dealt out to them in exchange for their furs, until the captain himself began to take note of his surroundings, and to be anxious for the fate of his ship and his crew. He accordingly ordered some of the men to heave up the anchor and others to spread the sails, preparatory to putting to sea.

But it was too late for precautions of this kind. The Indians seeing what was going on, and understanding the preparations that were being made, offered to trade on any terms, and kept everybody so busy that the arrangements for departure were greatly delayed. Finally when the anchor was nearly up, and the sails already loose, the captain ordered

the ship to be cleared, but at that instant a signal yell was given, the hidden knives and war clubs were brandished in every direction, and the savages rushed upon their victims. The first to fall was Mr. Lewis, the ship's clerk, who was leaning with folded arms over a roll of blankets engaged in bargaining. He was stabbed in the back and fell down the companionway. Mr. McKay was knocked down with a war club and flung backward into the sea, where he was dispatched by the women in the canoes. Captain Thorn made a desperate fight. He was of powerful build, as well as of resolute disposition, but he had come on deck without weapons. He defended himself with vigor, and successfully for a time, and finally succeeded in reaching the cabin where there were firearms, but he was not given opportunity to use them. Covered with wounds and faint from the loss of blood, he was finally struck down with a war club, stabbed by numerous knives and thrown overboard.

During all this time a vigorous battle was going on in every part of the ship. The crew fought desperately with knives, handspikes and whatever weapon they could fix upon for the moment, but they were finally overpowered and mercilessly butchered. Only the men who had been sent aloft to unfurl the sails had so far escaped injury. There were seven of these. Being without weapons they let themselves down by the rigging, in the hope of getting between decks, but three of them were killed or mortally wounded in the attempt. The other four managed to reach the cabin where they found Mr. Lewis, the clerk, still alive though mortally wounded. Barricading the door they broke holes through it and with the muskets and other firearms which were at hand, began a brisk fusillade which cleared the deck.

Thus far the Indian interpreter had taken no part in the battle, and had been spared by the savages. He fled to the canoes with the other Indians, and remained among them for some time, until he finally succeeded in making his escape and returned to the Columbia, to tell the story of the fate of the Tonquin, to the partners at the fort.

During the remainder of the day, and the night following, no Indians visited the ship. The four sailors who had survived the battle, and Mr. Lewis who was still alive, held a long and anxious consultation during the night as to the course they would pursue. Lewis advised that they should slip the cables and endeavor to get to sea, but the sailors lacked courage to make this attempt, contending that the wind set too strongly into the bay and would drive them on shore. They decided to put off quietly in the ship's boat after dark, and try to follow the coast back to the Columbia. This they attempted to do, but Lewis refused to accompany them. Being disabled by his wound, hopeless of escape, and determined on a terrible revenge, he declared his intention to remain on board the ship until daylight, then to decoy as many of the savages on board as possible, set fire to the powder magazine, and so take a terrible revenge for the massacre. This plan he actually carried out. When the Indians cautiously approached the ship in the morning he made friendly signs to them, inviting them on board. It was a long time before any of them would venture to accept the invitation, but when at last one climbed up the ship's side, and the others saw that no harm came to him, they soon covered it as thickly as on the day previous, all intent on plunder. In the midst of their eagerness and exultation the ship blew up with a tremendous explosion. For a moment the air was filled with mutilated bodies and mangled limbs,

and the water was strewn for a considerable distance in all directions with the wrecks of canoes, and the floating bodies of Indians who had been killed by the convulsion. According to the interpreter, who afterwards told the story, more than one hundred savages were killed when the Tonquin was blown up, and many more were shockingly mutilated. For days afterwards the limbs and bodies of the slain were thrown upon the beach by the angry waves and the incoming tides.

The four sailors who attempted to make their escape in the boat failed to get out of the harbor, and after a long struggle were driven on shore. There they hid themselves in what seemed to be a secure cove, where, being nearly exhausted by their long struggle with the waves, they soon fell asleep, and while sleeping were discovered, captured and soon thereafter put to death. Of all who were on board the Tonquin when she arrived at Clayoquot, the interpreter alone escaped to tell the story of her destruction.*

*Samuel Hancock, the Indian trader who came to the territory in 1847, and made an unsuccessful attempt to establish a trading station at Neah Bay, has left a manuscript written in 1860, in which he relates how an old Indian, who claimed that he had been the interpreter in a ship that was attacked by the natives in one of the harbors of Vancouver Island, and afterwards blown up, told him the story of the battle and the explosion. The account he thus received is practically the same as given above, except that the story of Jewett and his companion, who were saved from the Boston in 1803, and of their rescue by another ship four years later, is made a part of it. There is some indication in this manuscript that Hancock had read Jewett's book, and possibly he is at fault for adding part of one story to the other. Peter Corney, who was an employee of the Northwest Company, says the Indians frequently told him that it was the blacksmith who was saved when the ship was blown up. But the only person on the Tonquin, so far as we now know, who could be regarded as a blacksmith, was Stephen Weekes, the armorer, and he was never heard from afterward, while Jewett, the blacksmith of the Boston, was rescued. It is quite probable that the

After the departure of the Tonquin from the mouth of the Columbia, the partners and their employees were kept busy with their work in the fort, and with preparations to establish other posts in the interior. Before they were ready to make any effort in the latter direction, they were not a little disquieted by a report, received through the Indians, that a party of thirty white men had appeared at the Cascades of the Columbia, and were building a fort there. As it was impossible that Mr. Hunt and any part of the overland party could be so near at hand, it was suspected that the Northwest Fur Company, which had established small posts west of the mountains on the upper waters of the Fraser, three or four years earlier, was now beginning to invade the valley of the Columbia. A reconnoitering party was sent up the river to ascertain if this report was true, but after ascending nearly two hundred miles they could hear nothing of any white people being in the neighborhood. Not long after this party returned, however, other Indians brought a report that the Northwest Company had actually established a trading house on the Spokane River. It was not possible, in the then state of the little community, to send out a party to inquire whether or not this report were true, but it was resolved to send Mr. Stuart with a small party up the river as soon as possible to establish a post somewhere in the neighborhood of the Spokane, to act as a countercheck. But July arrived before they could be got ready, and meantime, on the 12th of that month, Mr. David Thompson, astronomer and partner in the Canadian Company, appeared

Indians got the two stories confounded and told both as one. In any event neither Hancock, nor Corney, nor Ross Cox, who also heard the story from the Indians, have added anything to what was known of the fate of the Tonquin before their time.

at the fort, accompanied by a small party of Northwesters. He had been dispatched from Montreal, in the preceding year, with instructions to occupy the mouth of the Columbia before Mr. Astor's party could reach it. But before crossing the Rocky Mountains he had been deserted by all but eight of his men. With these he had made the best of his way to the upper waters of the Columbia, down which he had floated to its mouth, setting up British flags at various points along the route, and claiming in that way to take possession to the country. Thompson was a man of unusual independence, and great activity and enterprise. Although his arrival at Astoria was a most unwelcome surprise to the partners, he was received by McDougal as an old comrade, and not only hospitably entertained, but furnished with supplies for making the return trip. Against this policy Stuart protested, claiming that they were under no obligation to provide a rival with means of carrying on a contest with them. In this he was undoubtedly right, for if Thompson had not been furnished with supplies, he would have been compelled to await an opportunity to leave the country by some ship returning to the east coast, and the Pacific Fur Company would have been relieved of competition until he could return, or another party could be sent out to take up the work where he had been compelled to drop it.

Being furnished with goods for his return, he set out up the river and Stuart closely followed him. The two rival parties traveled together, until Stuart found a place near the mouth of the Okanogan where he decided to remain. This proved to be in the midst of a rich fur-bearing country, and the post which he established did a thriving trade until long after the Pacific Fur Company was compelled to quit the country.

The loss of the Tonquin was keenly felt by all the members of the little colony at the fort. Without the ship, they had no means to return to their homes, except by a long march across the continent, in case any accident should happen to the ship which Mr. Astor had promised to send out during the following season. But this gave them little if any uneasiness. They had full confidence that Mr. Astor would keep faith with them, and they did not yet know that a war had begun between the United States and Great Britain. They were chiefly concerned about the loss of Mr. McKay, upon whose wisdom and experience they greatly relied, and their other companions in the long journey they had just completed. The arrival of Thompson might mean that the Northwest Fur Company was preparing to make a sharp contest for possession of the country, or for a share in its fur business, but they were first in the field and were sure of such staunch support, that for the present at least they had no cause for anxiety on this account. Work on the fort, and the buildings needed for the great fur emporium they believed they had founded, progressed favorably. The party sent out to explore the Willamette Valley had brought back a most encouraging report of what had been found there. The little schooner whose frame had been brought out in the Tonquin, had been completed, launched and named the Dolly, and was doing a thriving trade up and down the Columbia, and with nearby harbors along the coast. Only one circumstance had given them cause of alarm for their own safety, and this, with any other man than McDougal in command, would probably have caused no more than momentary anxiety.

When it began to be known among the Indians that the Tonquin had been lost with all on board, they assembled

in considerable numbers near the fort, and for the first time showed signs of hostility. McDougal began to be uneasy. He feared that knowledge of the fact that so many members of the party had been lost might give them courage to make an attack, and this he wished to avoid if possible. He accordingly resorted to a stratagem. Assembling some of the principal chiefs, whom he already knew, he told them that he had heard that some of his party had been lost by the treachery of the Indians they had gone to trade with, but that while he and those who remained were few, they were mighty in medicine. Then showing them a small phial he told them it contained the smallpox. "I have only to take the cork out," said he, "to let the disease loose among you, and you know what the result must be." They immediately manifested the greatest alarm, begged him not to let the disease loose, and promised to retire immediately with all their warriors.

The stratagem therefore succeeded for the time being, but the incident did not end there. The story that the white man claimed he could control the smallpox—keep it shut up in a phial or turn it loose at his pleasure—spread broadcast, and was soon known among the tribes far and near.

If he could control one disease, why not all? So in after years when any virulent epidemic broke out the white people were blamed for it. The captain of a ship who did not succeed in trade with the natives as he had hoped, was believed to have poisoned the waters of the Columbia with the ague, an epidemic of which broke out soon after his departure, and hundreds, if not thousands of Indians died of it. Thirty-five years later Whitman the missionary was suspected, and indeed more or less openly accused of having afflicted the

children of the Cayuses with the measles, and while the connection cannot be directly traced, it seems at least possible that McDougal's needless subterfuge may have been one of the remote causes of the Whitman massacre.

CHAPTER XIII.

MR. ASTOR'S OVERLAND PARTY.

THE difficulties which the party sent overland to the Columbia by Mr. Astor, in pursuance of his plan, had to encounter were more numerous, more real and far greater in every way than those which annoyed the party sent by the Tonquin. They were all successfully met and overcome, however, by Mr. Hunt, who was in charge of this expedition, and who proved himself to be a very energetic and competent manager, as well as a very successful explorer.

As soon as possible after his appointment he began to make arrangements for his long journey. Mr. Astor supplied him with sufficient money for the undertaking, but he could furnish nothing more. Everything else Mr. Hunt had to provide for himself. He had no army of disciplined soldiers to draw upon, as Lewis and Clark had, but was obliged to make up a party from such material as he could find that was suitable for the purpose. He took with him as an assistant, and as a partner in the Pacific Fur Company, Donald McKenzie who had been for ten years in the service of the Northwest Fur Company, and therefore understood the disposition of the Indians well and knew how to treat with them. He was a strong, brave and honest man, knew how to travel in the woods and along the rivers, and proved himself a most competent and reliable assistant.

Mr. Hunt himself had had no practical experience as a fur trader. He had lived for some years at St. Louis, where he had been engaged in the business of furnishing supplies to the trappers and fur traders, and so had a considerable acquaintance among them. He had learned from them something of the country which he was to traverse, of the dangers he would be likely to meet, and of the means by which he could best provide against them. He could not

hope, however, to make up as large a party at St. Louis, from men who were experienced in the wilderness, as he would require, and he and McKenzie accordingly went first to Montreal, where they hoped to find people who had been in the employ of the Northwest Fur Company, who would be willing to join them. They found, however, that the Northwest Fur Company was inclined to embarrass them in every way possible, in making their arrangements. They could secure none of the more reliable men, whose services they sought, and were obliged to arrange with some who were not altogether desirable. With these they set out, and made the best of their way up the rivers and across the portages, by which the fur traders usually traveled, to Mackinaw, which was then the great center where furs were collected, and to which the trappers and voyageurs and fur traders reported in the largest numbers. Here, as at Montreal, they found their arrangements balked in many ways, but after securing a few men they proceeded to St. Louis, where they arrived much later in the season than they expected. Here, as at Montreal and Mackinaw their efforts to get men were embarrassed, and they were so far hindered and delayed that they were compelled to winter in the neighborhood. Accordingly, after recruiting their party so far as they could, they moved up the river about four hundred miles to the mouth of Nodowa Creek, where they fixed their winter camp, it being evident that the party could be more safely kept together there than in St. Louis.

At Mackinaw Mr. Hunt had been joined by Ramsay Crooks, a native of Scotland who had served with the Northwest Company, and had been engaged to some extent in a small way, in fur-trading expeditions on his own account. A year or two earlier, in company with a man named McLellan,

he had made a trip up the Missouri, into the country of the Sioux Indians, where they had been robbed of their goods and compelled to return. At Nodowa, McLellan also joined. He was a frontiersman of many years' experience, and was considered quite an acquisition to the party. Having had experience in the region through which they would be compelled to travel, both Crooks and McLellan strongly urged Mr. Hunt to procure at least twice as many men as he had originally planned to take with him, and as that number had not yet been secured Mr. Hunt returned to St. Louis in the hope of securing further reinforcements. But he still had to meet the opposition of the Missouri Fur Company, and its manager Mr. Manuel Lisa. That crafty Spaniard was not disposed to believe that Hunt's plan was only to pass through the country, the trade of which he himself was aspiring to control. He accordingly threw as many difficulties in the way of enlisting desirable men for the Astor expedition as he could devise, and he continued to annoy and harass the party until they finally separated in midsummer on the upper waters of the Missouri.

Lisa was preparing to set out on his own annual trading tour. He was to go with a stronger party than usual, and with more goods, as he designed to advance further up the river than he had ever gone. One reason for this excess of enterprise on his part was that Mr. Henry, who had been in his employ, and who had crossed the mountains three years earlier to the upper waters of Snake River, had not yet returned, nor was anything known as to whether his enterprise had succeeded or failed. Lisa's plan was to send out a party to hunt for him, to furnish him with supplies if he was succeeding, and to rescue him if he had failed, and should be still living.

At St. Louis Mr. Hunt therefore met with little success. He however employed a few men, and among them were Louis Labonte, Joseph Gervais and Etienne Lucier, who subsequently remained in Oregon, were among its earliest settlers, and bore their part in organizing its first government. He also arranged with a half-breed named Pierre Dorion, a son of the Dorion who had accompanied the Lewis and Clark expedition in a similar capacity, to go with him as an interpreter. Dorion was accompanied by his wife, an Indian woman, and two small children. This woman, in her way, proved to be almost as useful to the party as Sacajawea had been to Lewis and Clark, and almost as much of a heroine. Even with her two children, and a third who was born on the journey, she proved to be far less of an embarrassment to the expedition than her drunken husband, and frequently more useful.

As early as the condition of the river would permit, the winter camp was broken up and the party took to their boats. They made their way up the river for a distance of more than fourteen hundred miles above St. Louis, without meeting any great obstacle. They were continually disturbed, however, by unfavorable reports from the Indian country, particularly from that part of it inhabited by the Sioux tribes. These aggressive warriors had long been supplied by the Northwest Fur Company, in Canada, with better arms than their neighbors had been able to procure, and they were constantly committing aggressions of various kinds upon the others' villages and their property. They looked with no favor upon the attempts of the American traders to invade the country, as if permitted to do so they would in time supply their enemies with as good or better arms than they themselves possessed. The party, therefore, anticipated that they

would meet trouble as soon as they came in contact with these warlike tribes.

As they were nearing the Sioux country the party met with three hunters who had been west of the mountains with Henry, and were now returning down the river to St. Louis, after a residence of more than three years in the wilderness. Their names were Robinson, Hoback and Rizner. They were Kentuckians, and were returning to that State to rejoin their families, intending to quit the wilderness forever, but they were easily induced to join the Hunt party and return, being promised a supply of such goods as they would require for another hunting and trapping expedition.

They were of the opinion that a much better route could be found to the headwaters of the Columbia, by taking a course further to the south, and as the troublesome Sioux, who were sure to be met further up the river, would thus be avoided, it was determined to abandon the Missouri as soon as horses could be procured in sufficient numbers to transport the baggage. Accordingly the boats were exchanged for horses at a point somewhere near the Mandan country, and the party set off overland toward the west. They made their way, without much difficulty, through the Black Hills, past the Big Horn Mountains, and across the great plains to the foot of the great range lying between the rivers that flow toward the east, and those that flow toward the west. Here, for a time they were apprehensive of an attack from the Crow Indians, who were not very favorable to their further advance, but after some negotiation, and the loss of considerable time in searching for a pass which they did not find, an arrangement was made with the Crows, to furnish them guides and a safe escort across the range to the country of the Shoshones.

By their aid the range was crossed, and late in September the party arrived on Mad River, one of the upper tributaries of the Snake. Here a small party was detached to establish a post, begin trapping and collect such furs as possible from the Indians, and at the proper time send them on to Astoria. A few days later they came upon the abandoned cabin which Mr. Henry had built, and as Robinson, Hoback and Rizner knew this region and had found it good hunting ground, they were left with a sufficient outfit to establish a second substation, and carry on such hunting and trapping as they could do in that region.

Having reached the part of the country where all the streams flowed toward the west, the party now began to be anxious to abandon their horses, build boats and float down stream, as they supposed they would be able to do, to the main station at Astoria. But none of the streams they had so far encountered encouraged them to make this change in their mode of travel. All were filled with rapids, and had a most dangerous and uninviting look. It must be remembered that the party knew nothing of the character of the Snake River and its many frightful rapids, deep and gloomy gorges and impassable falls. It they could have believed what the Indians told them about it, they never would have trusted their lives and their property upon its surface. But not knowing what was before them they took advantage of the first encouraging prospect that offered, constructed fifteen boats, and leaving their horses to be cared for by the Indians embarked on the dangerous river.

For some days they managed to make a little progress down its tortuous channel and over its dangerous rapids. At many of these they were compelled to make portages, sometimes carrying their boats as well as their goods, for a

considerable distance along the rocky shores, around precipitous falls. In order to avoid these portages attempts were sometimes made to shoot the rapids, and in these one or two of their boats were wrecked, and much of their contents irretrievably lost. Finally they arrived at a place where the river breaks through deep and forbidding canyons, in which the current was so rapid, and so much interrupted by broken rocks, that it was impossible to get the boats through it, while the walls at either side were so steep and rugged that it seemed next to impossible to get them and their loads around it. This place they called the Cauldron Linn. Here a large part of their goods were cached, and as there were but a few Indians in the country and these were miserably poor, they were compelled to proceed on foot, as it was impossible to procure horses.

During all of October, November and a large part of December they followed the river toward its mouth, finding the greatest difficulty to supply themselves with food. But few Indians were encountered and these could furnish them little assistance. At last it was decided that the party must be divided or all would starve. Small parties, by taking different directions, might, it was hoped, find ways out of the desolate and forbidding country in which they were so hopelessly wandering. They would also find better opportunity of procuring food, either by hunting or from the Indians. Accordingly small parties under the command of McKenzie and John Reed, one of the clerks, were sent away, while Mr. Crooks with one section of those who remained followed down the river on one side, and Mr. Hunt with the remainder took the other. Mr. Crooks had been in ill health during a large part of the journey. At times he was unable to mount his horse, and it had been necessary to carry him

on a sort of litter. He was still far from well, and all were anxious about his health, fearing that he could not survive the journey, and that his enfeebled condition might so far delay their advance as to imperil the lives of all. The weather continued to grow colder and more disagreeable, and the country more desolate. A seemingly interminable stretch of arid plain, broken here and there by rugged hills, and rocky canyons surrounded them. Although following the river, they frequently suffered as much from thirst as from hunger, as it was impossible to descend into the deep chasms through which it flowed to get water. At last the two parties came to a place where the mountains crowded the river so closely as to forbid their further advance, and they were compelled to turn back. They were without food. For several days they had subsisted on less than half a meal in each twenty-four hours. They were now absolutely without means of procuring further supplies. They could obtain nothing until they should manage to meet with some friendly Indians, who might have something that they could part with, and as they must return through the country in which they had so lately been starving for several days, the prospect did not seem very encouraging. To add to their difficulties Mr. Crooks and one other member of his party had become so feeble, that they could walk only with the greatest difficulty, and the party were obliged to travel more slowly than ever in order that they might keep up with them. The men began to grow impatient at this delay. They insisted that they had a long and toilsome region to traverse, before they could hope to find anything that would serve for food, and as it was impossible for Crooks and his companions to keep up, it was best to leave them to their fate at once. Mr. Hunt's opposition alone prevented this from being done. Finding it

RAMSAY CROOKS

A native of Scotland, but long prominent among
the Se-traders of Canada and the United States.
A member of Mr. Asor's overland party.



as a son of him. He was well but from well, and all were anxious about his health, fearing that he could not survive the journey, and ~~his~~ ^{his} ~~condition~~ ^{condition} might so far delay their advance as to imperil the lives of all. The sequel remained as now colder and more disagreeable, and the country more desolate. A seemingly interminable stretch of arid plain, broken here and there by rugged hills, and rocky ranges surrounded them. Although following the river, they frequently suffered as much from thirst as from hunger, as it was impossible to descend into the deep chasms through which it flowed to get water. At last the two parties came to a place where the mountains crossed the river so closely as to forbid any further advance, and they were compelled to turn back. They were without food. For several days they had subsisted on less than half a meal in each twenty-four hours. They were now absolutely without means of procuring further supplies. They could obtain nothing until they should manage to come within sound of the Indians, who might have something that they could part with, and as they must needs traverse the country in which they had so lately been wandering for several days, the prospect did not seem very encouraging. To add to their difficulties Mr. Crooks and one other member of the party had become so feeble, that they could walk only with the greatest difficulty, and the party were obliged to travel more slowly than ever in order that they might keep up with them. The men began to grow impatient at this delay. They insisted that they had a long and tedious reprieve as travellers, others were could hope at first anything that would serve for food, and as it was impossible for Crooks and his companions to keep up, it was time to leave them to their fate at once. Mr. Hunt's opposition alone prevented this from being done. Finding it



impossible to move him from his determination, some of the party began to advance without him, and he was at last left with but five persons to keep him company, and it was apparent that even these could not be kept together very long. The weather became colder, and to add to the perplexities of the situation, Mr. Crooks became so ill that he could go no farther. Their stock of provisions was now reduced to three beaver skins. Hunt therefore resolved to push on alone until he could find some means of procuring food. Leaving two men to care for Crooks and his companion, and two beaver skins for their support, he and the three others pressed forward for two days, until they found a small party of Shoshones, from whom they procured five horses, one of which was immediately slaughtered and cooked, and a small party, with a portion of it, was sent back to rescue Mr. Crooks and his companions.

Mr. Hunt now arranged with the Shoshones, after much difficulty, to furnish him a guide, and on the 24th of December, they turned their backs to the Snake River, where they had suffered so much, and struck out for the mountains toward the west. The party now consisted of thirty-two white men, three Indians and the squaw and two children of Pierre Dorion. Five half-starved horses were laden with their luggage, and in case of need, were to furnish them with their food. They traveled painfully about fourteen miles a day, over plains and among hills rendered dreary by occasional falls of snow and rain. Their only subsistence was a scanty meal of horse flesh once in twenty-four hours. On this part of the journey two of the Canadians were taken sick and, becoming too weak to travel, were mounted on two of the horses, and as these were too weak to carry both the luggage and men, Mr. Hunt took the pack belonging to

Louis LaBonte on his own shoulders, and in this way saved to Oregon one of her first settlers.

On the 6th of January 1812, the last ridges of the Blue Mountains were crossed and the party obtained its first view of the valley of the Columbia, which at that season was green as spring, under the influence of the warm wind from the Pacific. Stimulated by this gratifying spectacle the party went forward with new hope, and on the next day made their camp in the neighborhood of thirty-four Indian lodges, which were surrounded by immense droves of horses, all of which were in excellent condition. These Indians were found to be quite friendly, and readily supplied them with food in abundance.

From this camp the Columbia was distant only two days' journey. On the 26th of January the party resumed their march. They reached the Columbia some distance below the junction of its two great branches, where Lewis and Clark had first seen it, and probably somewhere near the mouth of the Umatilla River. Finding that the road lay on the north bank they crossed over, and followed along that shore to the Cascades, where boats were procured and the remainder of the journey was easily made. They arrived at Astoria on the 15th of February, where the small parties which had separated from them in the valley of the Snake River, under Reed, McLellan and McKenzie had arrived nearly a month earlier. Mr. Crooks and his companions had not yet appeared. They were not found till some weeks later, when they were rescued by a party which was on its way down the river from Mr. Stuart's station on the Okanogan.

At the mouth of the Columbia everything was found to be in as prosperous a condition as could be hoped for. Except

for the loss of the Tonquin no great accident had befallen the enterprise. All the Indians of the neighborhood were reported to be friendly. The business of the Company was prospering. The schooner Dolly, the frame of which had been brought out on the Tonquin had been completed and launched, and was successfully engaged in trading up and down the river, and to the neighboring harbors along the coast. Preparations were in progress for establishing a station on the Willamette, where explorations had already been made, and the country found to be largely supplied with beaver and other fur-bearing animals. So far as the remainder of the country had been explored it was found to be far better than they expected. Its soil was fertile and its climate admirable. Everything in fact seemed to promise that Mr. Astor's fondest expectations would be more than realized.

On the 9th of May a second ship from New York arrived at the fort. This was the Beaver commanded by Captain Sowle, and she had on board another partner John Clarke, an American who had seen service in the fur trade with the Northwest Company. She also brought a reinforcement of five clerks, fifteen American laborers and six Canadian voyageurs, as well as an abundant supply of goods for trade with the Indians. This ship was to remain on the coast, her special business being to establish the trade which it was proposed to build up with the Russians in Alaska, to collect furs along the coast and bring them to Astoria, and then to convey them annually to Canton.

After the cargo of the Beaver had been safely landed, plans were made to increase the number of trading posts in the interior, and so take a firmer possession of the country, as well as to extend the business of the Company in every way. Clark and McKenzie were sent to open new stations among

the Flatheads and Nez Perce tribes, on the upper waters of the Spokane and Clearwater rivers. A party was also sent to the Willamette, and a detachment commanded by Robert Stuart, and composed of McLellan, who, dissatisfied with his arrangement with the Company, had now determined to return east of the mountains, John Day the Virginia hunter, Ben Jones, and two Canadians, was sent back across the mountains to St. Louis, with dispatches advising Mr. Astor of the progress so far made. The Beaver started northward with a cargo of supplies for the Russian station, taking Mr. Hunt, whose mission was to complete arrangements with the bibulous and truculent Baranoff, for establishing the business of the Company in that quarter. He successfully encountered this Russian worthy in his hyperborean fastness, and complied with all the requirements of his boisterous hospitality, but he was delayed there much longer than he had expected, and it was not until forty-five days had elapsed that he was able to bring his negotiations to a conclusion.

So far everything seemed to promise better than Mr. Astor, or any one connected with the Pacific Fur Company had expected. The trade with the Russian posts was arranged for, and on terms quite as favorable as had been hoped. The Company was to furnish the posts with all their supplies of every sort, taking its pay in peltries. This would give it practical control of the sale of all the skins collected on the coast, and the food supplies that were to be provided in exchange, could, in a very short time, be produced on the Columbia. This would strengthen the hold of the Company upon the country, and help materially to hasten its development, which was one of the most important objects of the enterprise.

But the furs to be received in exchange for the goods already delivered remained to be collected. A large part of these consisted of a valuable lot of seal skins, then at the Pribyloff Islands, in Bering's Sea. As soon as they could take leave of the roystering Baranoff, Hunt and Sowle put to sea to secure them. But the season was late and the weather stormy. Worst of all Sowle was a timid sailor. Where Thorn had been rash and inconsiderate, Sowle was timid and irresolute. The Pribyloffs were in an unknown and wintry sea. While Hunt was collecting the skins and getting them ready for shipment, a fierce storm came up, during which the captain felt obliged to leave his anchorage and put to sea. He did not return for several days, and then his ship was in a damaged condition, her canvas and upper rigging having suffered severely during the storm. No time was lost in getting the remainder of her cargo on board, and she started on her return to Astoria.

But now perplexing questions began to arise, both in the minds of Mr. Hunt and the captain. The sails and rigging of the ship had been so much damaged by the storm, that it was doubted whether she would be able to live through the hard gales to be expected off the Columbia so late in the season. It was doubtful whether she ought to attempt to cross the bar, with the valuable cargo she now had on board, and if she should succeed in getting over in safety, it would be necessary to get out again with a still more valuable cargo, and at a time when storms would most likely be increased in severity. Besides so much time had been lost by the delay at New Archangel, and at the islands, that there was risk of arriving so late at Canton as to find a bad market, both for the sale of her peltries and the purchase of a return cargo. After long deliberations it was decided that Mr. Hunt should

be landed at the Sandwich Islands, and there await the arrival of the annual vessel from New York, and the Beaver should continue on to Canton.

Here was the beginning of the misfortunes which finally proved the overthrow of the whole enterprise. Had the Beaver made the harbor at Astoria, Mr. Hunt would doubtless have remained there, and the interests of the Company would not have been betrayed, as they subsequently were, by the person who had been left in charge of them. As it was he was landed at the Sandwich Islands where he was obliged to remain during most of the winter. The annual ship, the Lark, sent out that year, was wrecked. She had been dispatched from New York, in spite of the war, and of imminent danger that she would be captured, and made the greater part of her journey in safety, only to meet with disaster when almost in sight of the port where she was to rest and refit for the remaining part of her voyage, which would be easily made. Mr. Hunt was now obliged to charter a ship, the Albatross, with which the Winship brothers had attempted to found a settlement on the Columbia in 1809, which had then just arrived at Honolulu from Canton, bringing the unwelcome news that war had broken out between the United States and Great Britain. With this ship, a slow sailer at best, Mr. Hunt left the islands and arrived at Astoria on the 20th of August.

Here he found things in hopeless confusion. As early as January news had been brought overland to the fort, by George McTavish of the Northwest Fur Company, that the United States and Great Britain were at war, and that all the Atlantic ports were blockaded. He had told with evident satisfaction, that his Company had already despatched a ship, the Isaac Todd, to establish the fur trade on the coast under

the British flag, and in the American fort, which they supposed by that time would have been captured by a small squadron of English war vessels which had been sent out for that purpose. The Todd had left England in March 1813, under command of Captain Smith, with Donald McTavish, a partner in the Company, in charge. He was bringing with him a full force of clerks and traders, and a number of settlers, and was fully prepared to take possession of the country.

As the Beaver had not returned, and as Mr. Hunt was absent and no one knew what accident might have befallen him, McDougal and the other partners were thrown into consternation by the announcement. Clarke and McKenzie had not been fortunate in their efforts to establish stations on the Spokane and Clearwater rivers, and had returned to Astoria greatly discouraged. As the expected ship had not arrived from New York, it was feared that she had been captured by the British war ships, and it was doubtful whether any others would now be able to reach them, even if they should be sent out. The partners had therefore resolved to abandon the fort, early in the succeeding year, and had already made arrangements to call in the other partners and traders from the stations which had been successfully established.

Mr. Hunt was astounded on learning the resolutions which his partners had taken, but he was unable to induce them to change their determination. He accordingly yielded to it himself, although with great reluctance, and resolved to make such effort as he could to save the property of the Company, and return the Sandwich Islanders to their homes, in accordance with the promise made to them when they had been brought to the Columbia. He therefore reëmbarked in the

Albatross, for the islands, in the hope of finding some other vessel that he could employ to convey the property of the Company to a place of safety. But at the islands no vessel was found, and he continued with the Albatross until she arrived at the Marquesas, where he learned from Commodore David Porter, whom he found there, in command of the American frigate *Essex*, that a large British squadron was on its way to the Columbia. Porter had been cruising in the Pacific in pursuit of British merchant ships, several of which he had captured, and one of which Hunt attempted to purchase, but the price demanded was so high as to discourage him. He accordingly returned to the Sandwich Islands at the first opportunity, in the hope of meeting the *Lark* there, or if he should fail in this, that he might be able to purchase or charter some other vessel suitable for his purpose, and return therewith to Astoria. Porter meantime promised to keep a diligent lookout for the British ships, and if he did not fall in with them, that he would cruise northward toward the Columbia, where possibly he might furnish some assistance.

Hunt arrived at the islands only to find that the *Lark* had reached there, but had been wrecked, and that her cargo was a total loss. He accordingly chartered a small brig called the *Pedler* and sailed in her to Astoria, where he arrived in February 1814.

But the fate of the Pacific Fur Company had been decided before he arrived. Soon after his departure from the fort *McTavish* and his followers, of the Northwest Fur Company, again appeared. They were received by *McDougal* in the same friendly spirit as before, and allowed to make their camp, and hoist the British flag in front of the fort, under its guns, and in the faces of its occupants, many of whom were

more than anxious to defend it. After negotiations, extending over several days, McTavish proposed to purchase the whole stock of goods and furs belonging to the Company, both at Astoria and in the interior, and his proposition was accepted. The Americans at the post were indignant, but their protests were not heeded. They considered McDougal as acting a craven, if not a perfidious part. He did most of his negotiating in the camp of the enemy, instead of keeping within his own walls and receiving overtures from without. The Americans insisted that his case was not desperate, and that he might, in fact, make his own terms with his visitors if he should be so disposed, as they had lost their ammunition, had no goods to trade with the natives for provisions, and were in fact so destitute that they would have starved if they had not been fed by McDougal from his own stores. On the other part McDougal's fort was strongly armed, abundantly supplied, and had sixty men, with enough arms and ammunition, and no lack of courage to defend it. The intruders who were so brazenly displaying the British flag, and boasting of what they would do when the English ship should come to their assistance, were under the guns of the fort and really at its mercy, and should the British ships appear, it would still be possible to pack up the more valuable goods and furs and remove them to a safe place in the interior before they could get over the bar.

Notwithstanding all these advantages McDougal was resolved to capitulate, and on the 16th of October an agreement was executed by which the fort and all its valuable contents, consisting of furs, arms and trading goods, were turned over to the representatives of the Northwest Fur Company, practically on the terms they had themselves proposed.

This conduct on the part of McDougal was severely criticized by Mr. Astor, and by all the loyal partners in the Pacific Fur Company. They claimed that the sale had been made before any British war ship had arrived, at a time when the fort was not seriously threatened, and while those in charge of it were amply able and entirely willing to defend it. They claimed also that the sale had been made for not more than one-third of the value of the property, and they afterwards pointed to the fact that McDougal immediately became a partner in the Northwest Company, and remained in charge of the fort, as evidence that their suspicions were justified.

On the morning of November 30th, six weeks after the sale had been concluded, the British ship *Raccoon* arrived in the river, and her captain learned to his infinite dissatisfaction, that the fort, with all its contents, had become the property of British subjects. He could therefore only haul down the flag of the United States and hoist that of Great Britain over the establishment in its stead. He also changed the name Astoria to Fort George, and then after reproaching McDougal and his associates for defrauding himself and his officers and crew of the reward due to their exertions, he sailed away to the South Pacific.

Mr. Hunt in the brig *Pedler* did not arrive until the 28th of February 1814. He found McDougal in charge of the place, not as chief agent of the Pacific Fur Company, but as a partner in the Northwest Fur Company. He could therefore do nothing but close up the business of the American association, receive the bills on Montreal which had been taken in payment for the goods sold, after which he reëmbarked, and sailed for New York by way of Canton and the Cape of Good Hope.

During all of these years while some of his representatives were managing so badly, and others were making heroic efforts for success, Mr. Astor was doing everything possible, on his side of the continent, to secure it. He had regularly sent out, each year, the supply ship as he had promised, even when it seemed that it could hardly hope to escape capture by the British, and that all of his goods and money would be lost. He had done more than that. He had been constantly planning, with his usual sound sense and good judgment, to make the enterprise secure in every way, to increase its business and make it more profitable. He had, from the first, believed that a more profitable business than he had led his partners to hope for, could be built up between the main emporium on the Columbia and the Russian settlements in Alaska, and in order to secure the sanction of the Russian government, he had dispatched a confidential agent to St. Petersburg in March 1811, fully empowered to enter into the requisite negotiations. This agent had been entirely successful. It had been arranged that the two companies were not to interfere with each other's hunting or trading grounds, nor were they to furnish arms or ammunition to the Indians. They were to act together against all who should attempt to invade their territories, and to help each other in case of danger. The Americans were to have the exclusive right to supply the Russians with provisions and trading goods, to carry their furs to Canton and bring back such goods in exchange as might be agreed upon.

While doing all this Mr. Astor had not failed to keep the government at Washington informed of what he was doing, and of the importance of giving his undertaking the protection it deserved. While he was preparing the *Lark* for sea,

he wrote to Mr. Monroe, then secretary of state, fully advising him of the importance of the settlement which his Company had already made at the mouth of the Columbia, both from a commercial point of view and for the shelter it might afford American vessels on the Pacific. He asked the administration to send forty or fifty men to the fort at Astoria, saying that he thought these would be sufficient for its defense until he could himself send reinforcements overland. But to this letter he received no reply.

While he was preparing his third vessel for sea, early in 1813, and after he had learned that the Isaac Todd had sailed from England, under convoy of British war ships, with a cargo of goods intended for his Canadian competitors, he again wrote to the secretary of state, communicating this intelligence, and requesting that his letter might be laid before the president. As his former letter had apparently received no attention, he had but little hope that this would meet a better fate. But Mr. Madison's administration was apparently at last awakened to the dangers that faced the establishment, and to the importance of protecting it as a foothold of American commerce, and a first emporium of trade on the shores of the Pacific. It was accordingly determined to send the frigate Adams to the Columbia, but just as this ship was ready for sea, news came that a reinforcement of seamen was urgently needed on Lake Ontario, and the crew of the Adams was transferred to that service.

In the winter of 1815, after the war was over, Congress passed an act prohibiting all traffic by British traders within the territory of the United States, but the government made no effort to enforce it in the Oregon territory, and so far as that portion of the national possessions was concerned it remained a dead letter. After the act was passed, however,

Mr. Astor's hope that he might be able to reëstablish his colony at the mouth of the Columbia seems to have revived, but he did not think it advisable to make an attempt without the protection of the American flag, under which his people might rally in case of need. He accordingly made an informal overture to the president, through Mr. Gallatin, who had long been secretary of the treasury, though he was not then in office, offering to renew his enterprise, provided the government would undertake to protect it by a military post which could be garrisoned by a force that would "not exceed a lieutenant's command." This application was recommended by Mr. Gallatin, and was seemingly favorably received by the administration, but no effort was made to carry it into execution. Discouraged by this lack of interest on the part of those who should have most heartily approved and seconded his efforts, Mr. Astor reluctantly and finally abandoned the undertaking, and gave his attention to other matters.

At this point of time it seems little less than astonishing that the national government should have taken so little interest in a matter of so much importance, as that of founding a settlement in a country so essential to its territorial completeness, and which it now held by right of discovery and exploration, but which it might lose by neglect and inattention. It was the only territory it owned or claimed on the Pacific Coast. Its importance must have been apparent and could hardly have been overestimated. Had Mr. Astor's enterprise succeeded as it deserved to do, and as it would have done in spite of the disasters of war, had it been loyally supported by the agents in charge, and given the protection and encouragement which it deserved from the national government, results of almost incalculable value would almost certainly have immediately followed. The Indian trade on

the Missouri, and in the whole northern part of the Louisiana purchase would have been taken out of the hands of the Canadians. The Indians themselves would have been more easily controlled. Settlement of the country would have been encouraged and advanced. The trade with Alaska, which was begun by Mr. Hunt in 1813, has continued to the present day. It would doubtless have grown far more rapidly, had the colony survived, for while no great prominence has been given to Mr. Astor's attempts in this direction, it may be judged from the preparations made at Astoria, and from his well-known energy in such matters, that the colony would soon have been able to supply the Russian stations with all the provisions they would require, and that most of them would have been produced in the valley of the Columbia. The development of the agricultural resources of the country, and of such industries as stock raising, would have been immediately begun. Settlement of the territory would have been encouraged and greatly hastened, and we should today see in its harbors and cities, and in its productive valleys, all that those will see, who have the good fortune to live in them many years hence.

Unfortunate as it was, the Astor enterprise contributed in no small degree to establish the title of the United States in the Oregon territory and to hasten its settlement. The overland expedition of Mr. Hunt in 1812 contributed quite as much to the general stock of information about both the Louisiana and the Oregon territories, as did the expedition of Lewis and Clark, and did quite as much to establish our title to them by right of exploration. The return expedition under command of Robert Stuart, discovered the South Pass through the Rocky Mountains, and explored the route along the Platte River, which was afterwards followed by so many

of the settlers, and still further enlarged the public knowledge as to what the new country contained. The settlement actually made, though it did not long survive, became an important factor in establishing our title to the country, at a later period, and the story of it, as told by Washington Irving in 1836, did more to inform the American people about the value of the country than any or all publications previously made.

The country was now abandoned to the Canadian fur traders and the Indians, who were to remain in almost undisturbed possession of it for more than thirty years.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE BRITISH FUR TRADERS.

WHILE the fur traders who had now succeeded to the control of the Columbia, represented what was then known as the Northwest Fur Company, they were soon to unite with and become apart of an older concern, which already had a history extending over a period of nearly one hundred and fifty years. This was one of the great English trading companies which, founded upon the advantages given by royalty to its favorites in those times, had not only greatly enriched their stockholders and their successors, but had won or saved empires for the mother country. The East India Company, chartered by Queen Elizabeth on the last day of the sixteenth century, won for England the Indies. The Hudson's Bay Company, chartered by Charles II, seventy years later, took possession of the inhospitable shores of the great inland ocean from which its name is derived, and gradually and persistently extended its hold until it possessed or controlled fully one-half the continent of North America.

The full name given to this monopoly, at its creation, was "The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England, trading into Hudson's Bay," and so it remains, though being rather too formidable for frequent repetition it has been shortened by custom, to the Hudson's Bay Company. The beginning of this venerable institution was as interesting as any part of its later history. Though formed by English capitalists, most of whom were royal favorites, and chartered by an English king, its real founders and promoters were two Frenchmen, who early went to Canada and engaged in the fur trade. Their names were Medard Chouart and Pierre Esprit Radisson. Chouart married a daughter of Abraham Martin, for whom the plains of Abraham near Quebec were

named, and when he grew wealthy, purchased a title and was afterwards known as "Sieur des Groseilliers."

Upon their first arrival in Canada, these two young men were attracted to the wilderness and the Indian trade. They made three expeditions into the interior, which were very profitable, but when they sought permission from the governor at Quebec to make a fourth, it was refused except upon conditions that would absorb all their expected profits. They accordingly went without permission, and were absent two years. This was in 1661, and during their absence they skirted the shores of Lake Superior and penetrated the wilderness far to the north and west of it. Some have claimed that they even went as far north as Hudson's Bay, though their enterprise does not seem to have led them in that direction.

Upon their return they were fined ten thousand pounds by the governor for defying his authority. They now went to France to endeavor to have this fine remitted, and during their absence sought to interest French capital in their enterprise, but without success. Upon their return they paid a visit to Boston, and finally went to London, where they were more successful. Through the influence of Sir George Carteret, vice-chamberlain to the king, and treasurer of the navy, they obtained an audience with King Charles, who promised that a ship should be provided them for a voyage to Hudson's Bay. With the aid of money furnished by several subscribers, chief and most active among whom was Prince Rupert, two ships were furnished and in these the two French adventurers made a successful voyage to the bay, on which they were absent two years.

A charter was now applied for and it was granted on May 2, 1670. Among the persons named in it were "our dear,

entirely beloved Prince Rupert, Count Palatine, Duke of Bavaria and Cumberland," the duke of Albermarle, Sir Philip Carteret, and various other persons of quality, together with one John Portman, a goldsmith, who seems to have been admitted to this select company for the substantial reason that his money was needed, as in that day the goldsmiths were usually capitalists.

The charter recited that these people "have, at their own great cost and charges, undertaken an expedition for Hudson's Bay, in the northwest parts of America, for the discovery of a new passage into the South Sea, and for the finding of some trade for furs, minerals, and other considerable commodities, and by such their undertakings, have already made such discoveries as to encourage them to proceed further in pursuance of their said design, by means whereof there may probably arise great advantage to us and to our kingdom." To enable them to do this more conveniently and with more certainty of success, they were authorized to form a body corporate, elect officers and adopt a seal. They were then to have "the whole trade of all those seas, streights, and bays, rivers, lakes, creeks and sounds, in whatsoever latitude they shall be, that lie within the entrance to the streights commonly called Hudson's streight, together with all the lands, territories and countries upon the coast and confines of the streights, bays, rivers and creeks aforesaid, which are not now actually possessed by any of our subjects, or by the subjects of any other Christian prince or state." They were also to have the fisheries of this region, the minerals, including gold, silver, gems and precious stones, and they were to hold these, and the country as well "in free and common socage," which is to say they were made its absolute proprietors. They were also given power "to judge all persons belonging to

the said governor and company, or that shall live under them, in all causes, whether civil or criminal, according to the laws of the kingdom, and to execute justice accordingly." They might also send ships of war, men, and ammunition, into their plantations, appoint and commission officers therefor, make peace or war with any people not Christian, and for that end they were permitted to "build castles and fortifications." So far as the king could do so, he gave the Company a large part of the earth with full power to govern and make whatever use it would of it.

Thus formed and endowed the Company took immediate possession of the southwestern shores of Hudson's Bay, where it built several forts and began to establish its trade. It prospered greatly. For many years its ships took out trading goods and supplies that cost but little, and brought back rich cargoes of furs that yielded immense profits. All its employees, except a few chief factors and traders, were then, and for a long time afterward, bound to it for a term of years, and paid the lowest wages. Annual dividends of twenty-five and fifty per cent. were frequently paid, and the capital was several times increased without calling for further contributions from the stockholders.

Satisfactory profits were so easily secured that no special effort was made to extend the Company's business very far inland. For nearly a hundred years all the posts of the Company were on or near the bay. Finally complaint began to be made that it had done nothing to clear up the mystery about the supposed Strait of Anian, and discover a passage through it to the South Sea. To set this at rest Samuel Hearne, an adventurous employee of the Company, was sent into the interior to make explorations. He was willing to undertake such employment. He was something of a

student, had learned the use of scientific instruments, and knew how to take observations and make calculations. For many years the Indians had told the traders stories of a river lying far to the west, on whose banks copper was abundant and easily obtained, and it had come to be talked about as the Coppermine River. Hearne was instructed to find and explore it, and at the same time to look for an opening into the South Sea, if any existed. He was engaged for several years in these explorations, encountering many difficulties, but finally in 1771 found the river and traced it to its mouth in the Arctic Ocean. He found no Strait of Anian, but he won for himself the title of "the Mungo Park of Canada."

But before Hearne's time other adventurers had penetrated the wilderness far to the west and south of "Rupert's Land," as the Hudson Bay region was now called. These were fur hunters who traded on their own account. Verendrye, whose journeys have already been mentioned, was one of the earliest of these, and following him were the McTavishes, the Frobishers, Pond, and several others. Their business was generally profitable, unless their competition with each other, and the agents of the Hudson's Bay Company, when they met them, tended to make it less so. After Wolfe had conquered Quebec, and English authority became supreme in all Canada, various reasons made it more desirable than ever that these independent traders should unite, and so turn the whole force of their enterprise against the older Company. The Northwest Fur Company was accordingly formed, and after all the independent traders had been induced or forced to join it, its trade was greatly extended and became more profitable than ever. Its principal stockholders lived in Montreal in more than baronial magnificence.

Its factors and other employees traveled far into the wilderness, and gloried in being known as "the lords of the rivers and forests." They early extended their activities westward to the mountains, and southward into American territory on the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, while Alexander Mackenzie, one of its stockholders, extended his explorations northward to the Arctic and westward to the Pacific Ocean. It was these Northwesters who had sent Simon Fraser, and David Thompson across the mountains to establish posts along the rivers flowing into the Pacific, and it was Donald McTavish of the same Company, who came with the Isaac Todd, to take possession of Astoria after McDougal had so weakly sold it out.

The Todd arrived in the mouth of the Columbia on April 17, 1814. Besides McTavish there were on board as passengers, John McDonald, three clerks, and Dr. Swan, the first physician, and Jane Barnes, the first white woman to visit Oregon. Miss Barnes had been a barmaid in England, and had come to Oregon with one of the partners in the Company. She was not received as favorably as she wished to be at the fort, possibly for the reason that the Company preferred that its agents and employees should marry native women, if they married at all, and so strengthen their relations with the people they had to deal with. Conforming to this preference, McDougal, who was still at the fort, had already married a daughter of old Concomly, the one-eyed chief of the Chinooks, his nearest and most powerful neighbors, and perhaps Miss Barnes did not relish the prospect of being second in an establishment where this Indian wife would naturally be first. She accordingly sailed away in the Todd, when she left, going to Canton, where it is reported she married an East India gentleman.

With McTavish at the fort were McDougal, Alexander Ross, Peter Corney, George McTavish, James Birnie, Thomas McKay, James Keith, Ross Cox, Donald McKenzie, and several members of the Astor colony who had cast their fortunes with the new concern. Several of these were men of education and no small ability, and some of them wrote books which are still read with interest, by those who are fond of stories of Indian life, and adventure in the wilderness.

The captain of the Todd seems to have been as sulky and unaccommodating as Captain Thorn of the Tonquin had been. As soon as he got over the bar he anchored in Baker's Bay, and could not be induced to move to the opposite side of the river, claiming that the channel was too shallow. As the ship would not come to the fort, it was necessary for McTavish and others to go to it, across the wide entrance to the river, in open boats. In making one of these journeys the boat was upset and McTavish and five other people were drowned, and McDougal was again for a time in command.

The Northwesters who were now in possession of the Columbia Valley had no other purpose in view in remaining in it than to prosecute the fur trade. Their Company was purely a fur-hunting, fur-trading concern, and had none of the far-reaching objects in view that had characterized the Astor enterprise. Those who had organized it had done so in order that they might more effectively resist the incursions of the Hudson's Bay Company, which claimed a monopoly of the fur business, under its charter. Under the fierce competition which followed, the business of both was greatly extended and enlarged, though profits were alarmingly reduced. The bad feeling between traders which this competition induced, led to violence in many cases, and finally

to a condition of open war. Trading posts were attacked and sometimes destroyed, and many lives were sacrificed. For several years the managers of the Northwest Company were so fully occupied with affairs nearer home, that their interests west of the mountains were left to manage themselves. In such a state of affairs those in charge at Astoria, now Fort George, were left to carry on their work as best they could, in accordance with the traditions of the trade. The outposts at Okanogan, which the Astorians had established, on the Spokane where Thompson the astronomer had stopped on his way down the Columbia, and at Kamloops farther north in New Caledonia, were strengthened and regularly supplied. Some trouble was experienced with the Indians at the Cascades, who had frequently annoyed the Astor people, but in time they were reduced to subjection, by Donald McKenzie, who had been an Astorian. In 1816 James Keith was in command at Fort George, and in the following year a brigade of eighty-six men was sent up the river. With them went McKenzie, who intended to build a fort near the confluence of the Snake and Columbia, which would provide a convenient halting place for parties passing to and fro between the stations already established toward the north, and those that might be established toward the south and east. In this undertaking he was not very cordially supported by his immediate superiors, who seem to have been considerably discouraged at that time, by the condition of affairs in the east, where the war between the two companies was at its worst, as well as by the unfriendly disposition of some of the Indian tribes nearer home.

But in the next year, 1818, positive instructions came from Montreal to the commandant at Fort George, to furnish McKenzie with men and means sufficient to build the fort

at once. This order was obeyed, and a hundred men were furnished for the work. With these McKenzie returned up the river, selected a site near the mouth of the Walla Walla, where the town of Wallula now stands, and began to make his arrangements for building. But the Indians of the vicinity, who had received the Lewis and Clark party with so much favor, and had been well disposed toward such of the Astor party as they saw, were not favorably inclined toward his enterprise. There was no standing timber in the neighborhood. The place is in the midst of a vast sagebrush plain, producing neither stick nor stone that is suitable for building purposes. McKenzie was purposing to use the driftwood brought down by the river when the water was high, for his building operations, but the Indians looked upon this as having been mysteriously sent them by the Great Spirit, to provide them with warmth and cook their food, and as there was but little of it at best, they were unwilling to have it used in this way. They exhibited a very hostile spirit, and worst of all withheld the supplies of food, which they had been depended on to furnish. For a time the undertaking seemed likely to fail. The Indians gathered in ever increasing numbers, and protested more and more vigorously, but the difficulty was solved at length by sending men up the river to cut timber and float it down, and so replacing what was used for building purposes.

A fort was finally built. It was a substantial structure one hundred feet square, made of planks six inches thick and twenty feet long, that were whip-sawed from the larger logs which had drifted to the neighborhood. At the top was a balustrade four feet high, with loop holes and sliding doors, and a gallery inside, enabled a sentinel to pass along the wall and keep a lookout over the surrounding country. There

was also an inner wall of sawed planks twelve feet high, and inside the whole were the buildings for a store, powder house, and dwellings. There were also bastions at two of the corners, and at each angle an elevated water tank furnished protection in case of fire. No Indians were allowed to come within this fort to trade, but goods were bartered through a small opening in the wall of the trading house, which was provided with a strong door that could be easily closed and securely fastened in case of need. This fort subsequently played a prominent part in the history of the territory.

Friendly relations were at length established with the Walla Wallas and their neighbors, and peace was made between them and the Snakes with whom they had been at war. McKenzie subsequently visited the Shoshones on the upper waters of the Snake, and the Nez Percés on the Clearwater, and attempted to establish trade with them, but without great success. The Indians were in a bad humor. Many of the tribes were at war, particularly with the Blackfeet, their old-time enemies, and were not inclined to listen to the white man's counsel. On one of his trips the intrepid trader had in charge an unusually large supply of goods, and the Indians thinking he could not defend them, began to press about him in a threatening way, intending to rob him. They would have done so had he not resorted to a bold stratagem which compelled their admiration. Opening a can of powder he took up a blazing brand from his camp fire, and quietly told them that if they did not at once retire he would set fire to it. They easily saw what would follow and retired. Trader McKinlay is also said to have resorted to this same expedient under very similar circumstances, and with equally satisfactory results. In both cases the Indians seem to have believed, from their quiet and resolute demeanor,

that the white men were really resolved to do what they threatened, and they accordingly respected them as having "very strong hearts."

Among the trappers brought into the country by the Northwesters, during the brief period of their control, was a party of Iroquois Indians, who made a great deal of trouble for their employers. Their first collision was with the Cowlitz tribe, inhabiting the country along the river which still bears their name. An unruly employee at the fort, who had once deserted and was subsequently taken back into the service, was sent to this tribe on some business, but got into trouble and was shot. Peter Skeen Ogden, who was afterwards to become famous in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company in Oregon, had then but recently arrived on the Columbia, and was sent, with some of the Iroquois, to inquire about the matter. While he was conferring with the chief, the Iroquois began an attack upon the other Indians and several were killed. Ogden quieted the difficulty for the time being, and returned to the fort, but the trouble was renewed, and the trade with the tribe lost. The Iroquois were subsequently sent to the upper waters of the Willamette, where they got into trouble with the Umpquas and more business was lost.

Keith's management of affairs at Fort George was not successful. In fact the business of the Astor Company, which McDougal had so weakly betrayed into the hands of the Northwesters, never prospered while they remained in control of it. They had, at one time, probably three hundred men west of the Rocky Mountains, but of all these no more than three achieved such distinction as entitles them to be remembered. Of these Peter Skeen Ogden was one. He was born in Quebec. His father, Isaac Ogden, a native of

England, had removed to New York before the revolution, but having no sympathy with the American cause he went to Canada, where he soon achieved distinction, and was for many years chief justice of the province. He had five sons, all of whom became distinguished, and two daughters.

Peter Skeen began his business career as a clerk in the office of John Jacob Astor, in New York. He had intended to follow the profession of which his father was so great an ornament, but a harsh and squeaky voice, which he could not correct, discouraged him. Feeling that he could not overcome so great an obstacle to success in the legal profession, he abandoned the law in 1811 and joined the Northwest Fur Company. He was sent west of the mountains as early as 1818, and perhaps earlier. After the union of the Northwest with the Hudson's Bay Company, he for several years conducted trading and trapping parties in the Columbia River basin, and far to the north into New Caledonia, and explored the country east through what is now Montana and the Yellowstone country, the headwaters of the Snake River, the Salt Lake country, and parts of Colorado, Nevada and California. In time he was made a chief factor, and was associated with McLoughlin and Douglas in the management of the vast and varied trade which was built up by their united wisdom and energy. From 1835 to 1844 he was in charge of the eight posts of the Company in New Caledonia, now British Columbia. One of his most notable performances was to ransom the survivors of the Whitman massacre in 1847, and bring them safely down the river from the hostile country to Fort Vancouver. After the retirement of McLoughlin he continued with Douglas at Fort Vancouver until 1849, when the headquarters of the Company on the coast were removed to Victoria. In 1852

he visited England, Canada and the United States, returning in 1854, soon after which he died. He was a natural leader of men. Cheerful in disposition, amiable in character, he was prompt in action, self-possessed and confident in danger, and possessed of undaunted courage. He commanded the unwavering support of his subordinates, and rarely fell short of complete success in any undertaking, no matter how difficult, the management of which was left to his own judgment and discretion.

James Birnie was another Northwester who earned distinction in the Oregon country. He was born at Paisley, Scotland, in 1800, and 1816 emigrated to Canada. He remained in Montreal for two years, during which he studied French, under the tutorage of a Catholic priest, and then entered the employ of the fur company, as a clerk, and was sent to the coast. He arrived at Fort Spokane in 1818, and remained there for several years, after which he was in the Kootenay country for a considerable time. Here he married a young French woman named Bianlieu, and some time later returned to Spokane. After the consolidation of the Hudson's Bay and Northwest companies, he was for some years at Fort Vancouver, as trader and bookkeeper, and was then sent north by Dr. McLoughlin to complete the building of Fort Simpson. He remained in charge of this station for a considerable time, and was then given charge of the old fort at the mouth of the Columbia. He was at this place when the brigantine Peacock, and later the schooner Shark, both United States war vessels, were wrecked, at that point, and rendered such effective service to the crews of both, as to win very handsome acknowledgments from them. From Astoria he was sent to the Dalles, where he remained until he retired from the services of the Company in 1845. He

then settled upon a tract of land near Cathlamet, and began its improvement. He soon transformed the wilderness into a land of surprising productiveness, and created for himself and family a comfortable and hospitable home. He lived to a ripe old age and died respected by all who knew him.

Donald McKenzie, who originally came out with the Hunt party, and remained in Oregon after the transfer of Astoria to the Northwest Company, proved himself to be, after Hunt himself, the most competent of all the men Mr. Astor had taken into his Company. He was a man of enterprise, sound judgment and unflinching courage. It is quite possible to believe that he would have set fire to the can of powder, as he threatened to do, in the incident above related, if it had been necessary to do so to prevent the Indians from robbing him. He was quite capable of blowing them and himself to pieces, rather than permit them to get him in their power. Mr. Irving has told how he once went at night, with only two companions, to one of the huts of the thieving and troublesome Indians at the Cascades, to demand a rifle they had stolen. It was a daring and almost foolhardy adventure, but McKenzie was not averse to an enterprise of that kind. On entering the chief's hut they found it lighted only by a smouldering fire in the center, and a number of Indians were seated about it. Others crowded in until there were several rows of them seated about the fire, and it was evident from their looks that their visitors were not welcome. The chief motioned the white men to be seated on the side of the room opposite the door, and they took the places indicated. They easily saw that they were in a position of great peril. "Keep your eyes on the old chief, while I am addressing him," said McKenzie to his companions, "and if he makes a sign to his band, shoot him and make for the door." He then

offered the usual pipe, as a preliminary to the conference, but the Indians refused it. Nevertheless he explained why he had come, and made his demand for the return of the stolen rifle. The chief rose to reply, and as he proceeded the other Indians began to grow restless. It was clear that things were nearing a crisis. The visitors rose to their feet and cocked their rifles, taking care to keep them pointed at the chief and those nearest him, who seemed to be the most important members of the party. They then walked out, and made the best of their way to their own camp, taking care meanwhile not to fall into an ambush.

After building Fort Walla Walla McKenzie made trips up the Snake River and into the Grande Ronde Valley, after which he crossed the mountains to York factory, the old headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company, where his services were so much appreciated that he was made governor of the Red River department, a post second in importance only to that of governor of the Company itself.

The Northwesters, "lords of the lakes and the forests" as they delighted to call themselves on the east side of the Rocky Mountains, derived but little benefit from their short ten years' possession of the fur trade of the Columbia, which had so easily fallen into their hands, and over the capture of which they had so much exulted. Their management of affairs was generally weak, and the results disappointing. During these years they saw their settlement formally restored to the possession of the United States, in accordance with the provision made by the first article of the treaty of Ghent, and Keith, then in control at Fort George, was one of the signers of the act of delivery. He probably signed with less relish than McDougal had signed the agreement by which his own Company was put in possession of what was thus

“restored,” but this could really have made little difference, as so far as he and his Company were concerned, they were still left in possession of their property. This they retained until sometime in 1823, when, the troubles between the Hudson’s Bay and Northwest Fur companies having been composed, by the excellent management of George Simpson on the one part, and Edward Ellice on the other, and the two companies consolidated, John Work and Archibald McDonald, representing the united and stronger Company, arrived to take the property over, and an era of stronger and better management began, which was to continue until the all-conquering American settler should arrive and arrange matters in his own way.

CHAPTER XV.

THE NATIVE INHABITANTS.

THE Indian inhabitants found in Washington by the first white visitors appear to have been the earliest human occupants of the country. No remains of the mound builders or kitchen middings, or of other prehistoric races have been observed, either along the coast or in the interior. Mounds of peculiar shape and suggesting those of the mound builders, are not infrequently seen, but upon examination all these appear to have been the work of nature. Considerable deposits of shells, some having a depth of several feet, have been found in sheltered nooks along the coast, but all are of a comparatively recent date, and the few rude implements and other relics found in them, are similar to those which were still in use when the white men first came here, and in rare cases may be found in use today.

There is a marked difference between the tribes inhabiting the western and eastern parts of the State, due entirely, no doubt, to their environment and habits of life. Those found east of the Cascade Mountains most nearly resemble those of the great plains in the Middle West, being generally tall, straight, strongly built and very active in all their movements. They are accustomed to spend much time on horseback, and are frequently spoken of as horse Indians, as distinguished from those on the coast, who are known as canoe Indians. The latter, from spending so large a part of their time in their canoes, which are without seats, and in which they sit with their feet under them, or tailor-fashion, as is sometimes said, have very weak and generally crooked legs, with strong arms and deep chests. For generations before the white man came, these coast Indians spent comparatively little time on shore, and most of that was given to lounging about their camps. All of their food in winter, or nearly

all of it came from the sea. During the spring and fall months salmon were abundant and easily taken. Before and after the salmon runs other fish were obtained, while on the shore, between the lines of high and low tide, clams and other edible shellfish were always to be had in abundance. Bountiful nature provided so generously at all seasons, in this respect, that enough food to sustain life could be had almost without exertion, especially along the shores of Puget Sound and other interior waters. On the coast, or near its entrance to Fuca's Strait, whales were occasionally taken, and their flesh and blubber were regarded with favor as food, while the oil procured was used in various ways. The seal, otter and other fur-bearing animals were hunted for their fur in season, but their flesh was also eaten, and Mr. Winthrop has described how a seal found floating in the Sound was not rejected as unworthy of well-sharpened appetites. Occasionally a deer, an elk or a bear was shot with bow and arrow, if found near the water, and their flesh no doubt furnished, for the time, a pleasing variation from the usual fish diet, but they were not followed far from the coast, the dense jungle which everywhere covered the shores making a long chase impracticable, however exciting it might be.

As summer approached the canoes were invariably directed into some stream, along the banks, or in the near neighborhood of which various edible roots were found, and in their seasons strawberries, wild raspberries, and blackberries, gooseberries and currants, the thimbleberry, salmon berries and sallal berries, buffalo berries and cranberries, service berries and wild cherries of several varieties grew in profusion. Huckleberries of two or three kinds were found in the woods, and were usually abundant until late in December. The roots most sought for were the camas, a bulb of the size of

a small onion, growing in marshy or flat prairie lands, with a blue flower; wapato, also a bulb growing along the low lands of the Columbia, or in ponds and small marshy lakes, in great quantities; che-up or tuber of the fox tail; thistle root, blue lupine root, which when roasted tasted much like the sweet potato; wild turnip, or brown lily, tiger lily, and the root of a sand-growing plant, often called seashore ver-bena. The seed of the tar weed was much used by the Indians of the Willamette Valley, the prairie being burned over in order to ripen and partially cook it. Articles of food were also commodities of exchange, camas especially being sought by the coast tribes, in whose country it did not grow as abundantly as beyond the mountains. In their season hazel nuts, pine nuts, and in southern Oregon chincapins, and acorns were used as food, and as articles of trade. These were very abundant, but labor was required to gather them, and this was furnished by the women. The Indian method of cooking roots was chiefly by banking them over hot stones, covering them meanwhile with grass or sea weeds. Fish and meat were sometimes roasted over the coals—salmon being held on a stick before the fire, and the fat gathered in clam shells set underneath.

These people were indiscriminately called savages, for they had made no advance toward civilization. The Canadian French employees of the Hudson's Bay Company pronounced the word *sauvage*, which was in time corrupted into Siwash, and as Siwash the coast Indian is most generally known today.

While the Indians of Washington were savages, in the sense that they were unlearned, and utterly without cultivation of any sort, they were not savagely cruel or bloodthirsty. They were not fond of war; they did not delight in murder,

nor do they appear to have delighted in torturing their captives taken in war, as did so many of the eastern tribes. That they sometimes put such captives to death, if they could not conveniently reduce them to slavery, cannot be doubted. The heads which Vancouver and his party found exposed on the tops of poles, near Port Townsend, were doubtless those of enemies killed or captured in battle, and had been thus exposed as a warning to other unwelcome visitors. The tribes whose habitat was further north, particularly the Haidahs, whose home was in the neighborhood of the Queen Charlotte Islands, were far more savage than the Indians of the Sound country, and were accustomed to visit the Sound in their great war canoes, for purposes of plunder, long before the white men came here. It was possibly as a defiance, but more likely as a ghastly warning of what had been, and what might be, that these heads were thus displayed.

Like all ignorant people these Indians were suspicious, and superstitious, to a degree. They distrusted strangers; they feared that all manner of unreasonable things might happen, and their priests, or tammanous men easily led them to believe that all manner of impossible things would happen. Thus those living on Whidby Island, or in its neighborhood, were, at one time, greatly excited by the strange fancy that the white men were preparing to gather all the Indians on board their "fire ships" and carry them away to an island somewhere in the ocean where they would never see the sun again.* So easily were they convinced that this was so that

*This idea of an island where the sun is never seen, though a strange one, does not seem to have been a mere passing fancy with these Indians, nor was it peculiar to them. The inhabitants of the East Indies are said to have a great fear of the "dark waters" as they call the ocean, and of the country somewhere beyond it, where there is no sun.

the white men then on the island barely made their escape in time to save their lives.

Every Indian, particularly in the Sound country, had an abiding faith in his tammanous, or tammanowis. This was a thing of his own choosing, and might be a bird, or beast, a fish, a tree or flower, or anything animate or inanimate. It was selected early in life, usually after a long fast, and much mortifying of the flesh in various ways. A venerable Puyallup woman used to tell how she had wandered about in the woods, during the rainy season, and without fire or food, except such as she could gather along the shore, for nearly two weeks, in search of her tammanous. Finally she saw or thought she saw a great canoe, sailing by her, with many gaily dressed and very beautiful people, who were playing on musical instruments such as she had never before seen or heard, and these people told her that her tammanous was "the wind and the rain."

Once chosen it remains as the one thing to which the individual who selected it pins his faith for life. If he is a chief he relies on it to give him power; if a warrior it protects him from wounds or even death; if a hunter it gives or withholds success; if a medicine man it helps him to heal the sick, and if it fails to do it, it is because of the malevolent influence of some other tammanous that is working injury to the patient, or making the incantations ineffectual, in order to cover him with shame or confusion. If the opposition continues, nothing remains to be done but to seek out the proprietor of the opposing tammanous and adjust matters by force of arms.

The coast Indians were inveterate gamblers, and of gambling games they had a considerable variety. Some of these were very simple, like the bone game, which much resembled

shaking dice. A greater game, and possibly the greatest of all, was called swuckhulst.*

It is one of the traditions of this game that it can be played only by the light of a pitch wood fire. It is played only in winter, when the nights are long, and sometimes more than a week is required to finish a single game. It is generally made a contest between tribes, each of which furnishes a team of players, and each tribe, and all of the members of it usually stake all of their most valuable belongings on the result.

It is simply a game of guess, and yet certain players are supposed to become quite skilful at it, and the presence of such is greatly sought when a game has been arranged, although they are not allowed to take part, unless they belong to one or the other of the tribes or parties interested. It is played on a smooth mat, made of rushes, or some long smooth grass, and usually about twelve feet long by three or four wide. The implements with which it is played consist of a dozen or more smooth discs, about as large as a silver dollar, and a little thicker, cut from the end of a round stick of proper size; a sufficient quantity of well pounded and shredded bark of cedar roots, and a board about three or four feet long with thirty or forty small pieces of wood laid across it, to keep the record of the game as it progresses.

All the property staked on the result is brought to the building in which the game is to be played, or put into the

*The spelling of this name is not vouched for, but the combination of letters given probably comes as near spelling it as it can be spelled by the English alphabet. Mr. Winthrop says of the Chinook jargon, that it is very much "aspirated, gutturalized, sputtered and swallowed." This is not particularly true of the jargon, but it is true enough of the Indian languages, and if he had added choked and retched it would have considerably helped those who have not heard these Indians pronounce some of their longer words, to comprehend the difficulty of attempting to reduce them to written characters.

hands of reliable custodians, before the play commences. Then as soon as it is dark, on the appointed day, the players, and all parties interested, men, women, children, and infants in arms, assemble and prepare for a whole night's entertainment. The fire is started and kept going by boys designated for the purpose. The mat is spread before it. The scorer takes his place in the middle, opposite the fire. The players seat themselves at either end. A chief musician with a tom-tom, which he beats with vigor, as the game proceeds, particularly when one side or the other seems likely to win, stations himself wherever his fancy suggests and he can see the play conveniently. A player at one end of the mat then takes as many of the discs as he chooses, one of which must be colored, and covers them with a handful of shredded bark. He then pronounces a few words, as a sort of charm, or invocation to his tammanous perhaps, which another member of the party, who acts as a sort of precentor, proceeds to sing in a very high key, all the women present following and alternately raising and lowering their right and left hands, the tom-tom being monotonously pounded meanwhile. This is continued while the player is manipulating the discs, turning them round and round and wrapping them in the bark, being careful always that they are not seen by his opponents. This operation is continued as long as the player may desire. Finally, when he has arranged the discs, with the bark covering them, in two parts, so that he may easily seize one in either hand, he does so and holds his hands above his head. Instantly the tom-tom and the singing stop, and a player of the opposite side proceeds to guess in which hand the colored disc will be found. He takes as much time as he chooses to do this, usually being careful to impress all present, so far as possible, with the idea that he has some

peculiar art of divination that makes him a chosen player, then he indicates by a wave of the hand, in which hand of his opponent he thinks the colored disc will be found.

The handful of discs and the bark in which they are concealed are then thrown on the mat in front of the scorer, where all can see them. If the colored disc is found in it, a point is scored for the guesser, and the opposite side loses one, which must be made up before an advance is made. If he has guessed wrong, the other side, with musical accompaniment, then proceeds as before until all the players on one side have handled the discs, when the other side takes them.

Once begun the play continues until daylight, when all go home to rest, after making a careful mental record of the score. Play is resumed on the following evening, and again continues until morning, until one side or the other is victorious. It rarely happens that a game ends in less than a week and sometimes they run much longer. They wind up, as all such games must, with one party very exultant and the other very much depressed. But while the losing party is left with almost nothing, the game is said to have rarely or never led to strife or ill feeling.

Naturally a gloomy and taciturn people, and not showing the suavity of the southern tribes, they were, in their first reception of the whites, almost invariably friendly, and extended hospitality according to their custom and ability. So far from despising, or not appreciating the white man's superior inventions, the Indian was eager from the first to learn and acquire them, and early understood the benefits to be derived from trade, commerce and education, and even accepted the white man's religion, more or less readily. The most astute and powerful tribes were the fast friends of the whites from the first, and never engaged in hostilities.

During the comparatively long period of British occupation, and during the earlier days of American settlement, marriage between the daughters of the chiefs and white men was practiced, and a considerable infusion of white blood into the Indian race was thus brought about. Some of the most intelligent and most effective men in building up the American commonwealths of this coast have been of mixed blood.

When first seen by the white men the Indians were frequently the objects of no very intelligent curiosity, and their contrasts, or defects from the white man's standards, were most noticed. Some of their very virtues, in their own estimation, were easily degraded into vices by the whites. No greater merit was known among them than generosity, a chief giving all that he had in presents to his friends, and in consequence expecting some return, or borrowing when he needed. The chief, or other member of the tribe who had sufficient property to give a potlatch, as it was called, made himself a strong public favorite for the time. A potlatch was a great event, and all the friends of the giver were invited from far and near, were fed at his expense while the distribution of his goods lasted, and they celebrated the occasion with the greatest hilarity. But the practice was easily degraded, upon intercourse with the whites, into spendthrift habits, and the requests to borrow which invariably followed were regarded as mere begging. Among the women, as among Asiatics, virtue was esteemed as rightfully at the disposal of the father or husband, and their degradation became easy. But no women were more scrupulously faithful to the will of their husbands. There are few more faithful mothers.

To the coast Indians the canoe was the first great necessity, and experienced boat builders say they fashioned it according

to the most perfect models both for speed and safety. The famous clipper ships that began to appear shortly after the discovery of gold in California, and which speedily displaced the clumsier vessels with which seafaring men had been content up to that time, were built on the lines of these canoes, and the ocean greyhounds which have succeeded the clipper ship, are only an enlargement of the same models. So far therefore as his needs required, or his tools permitted, the unlettered Indian had attained to perfection in the art of ship building long before the white man appeared.

Each canoe was fashioned from a single log, and as the forests everywhere along the coast, from the Bay of San Francisco to the southern limits of Alaska, provided an abundance of very tall and perfectly straight-grained trees, it was possible to make them of varying sizes, from the mere skiff, capable of sustaining a single individual only, up to the great war canoes in which fifty or more people might put to sea in perfect safety. The log was selected with care, and spruce or cedar were usually preferred, though fir was also used. After the tree was felled the outside of the canoe was carefully shaped, and this must have been a work of great difficulty, since the only implements used, so far as we now know, were of stone. No delicate instruments for measuring or shaping, for locating a keel precisely in the middle, or for preserving regularity in curve or taper were available. The eye alone was relied upon to shape a craft that would require great regularity of form and equality of weight to make it preserve its proper position in the water. Possibly some readjustment or rearrangement in this respect was made after launching, but their construction is such that no very great correction of this kind could have been possible.

To hollow out the craft after the outside was finished was less difficult. When so much of the log as lay above the upper edges of the craft had been removed, channels were chopped or hacked along the sides, and fire was brought into requisition to hasten the work. The chips were raked or brushed toward the middle, where they were burned. Baskets of water were kept close at hand to be used to keep the fire within proper bounds, and a careful watch was kept to make sure that it nowhere left the shell thinner than it should be. Finally as the work neared completion it was partly filled with water, into which hot stones were thrown while mats and skins were thrown over it, until the whole was thoroughly steamed and rendered in some degree flexible. The sides were then drawn apart to the width required and fixed by thwarts. The canoe was now finished except for the ornamental piece at the prow and stern. These were carved from a single block, usually with a rude representation of some beast or bird, the totem of the family, and so neatly fitted to its place that no joint was visible. In this part of the work the skill of the Indian workman was not exceeded by that of the best cabinet maker. The joint was perfect and not visible from either the outer or inner side, although no glue, bolt nor spike was used to fix it in place. It was fastened only by cords, or small ropes, made of the inner bark of the roots of cedar trees, and these were so carefully countersunk in the wood as to be entirely concealed, when the boat was thoroughly oiled, as all were.

None of these canoes were furnished with seats. They were propelled only by paddles, though in modern times some are occasionally seen with sails. Each Indian family is usually supplied with one or more of them—a large one for the family and smaller ones for fishing or hunting. When

the family moved from one place to another, which they frequently did, the head of it placed himself in the stern, his household goods, including the mats, poles and skins of which the house itself was constructed, the children and dogs were placed in the middle, his wives and slaves, with their paddles, ranged themselves on either side and the whole set off sometimes for an excursion of many days.

Many of the coast tribes built permanent houses for their winter homes, and some of these were of large dimensions, a single dwelling being sometimes as much as sixty feet long. They were constructed of very large cedar planks, thirty to sixty feet in length, four or five inches thick, and several feet broad, laid lengthwise, one above another, up to the eaves. The floors were sunk several feet in the ground, and the eaves were not high. The roof was of bark laid in shingle fashion, secured by poles laid lengthwise of the ridge. A smaller house, especially on Puget Sound, was very much in use, which was made of small split boards, or "shakes." The boards for the roof were especially prepared, so as not to leak, every knot hole or imperfection being carefully channeled, so as to turn water from the opening. The boards for these houses were sometimes carried around from place to place, though the larger houses were usually abandoned in summer, and the number of these temporarily abandoned winter homes that Vancouver found near the Sound, led him to suppose that some recent epidemic, or great war, had greatly reduced the Indian population. Houses of a temporary character were common in the Willamette Valley, but at the mouth of that river they were generally of the more permanent style. In the center of the large houses was a place for fires; in some of the largest, several fires were kept going when the weather was cold enough. An opening was

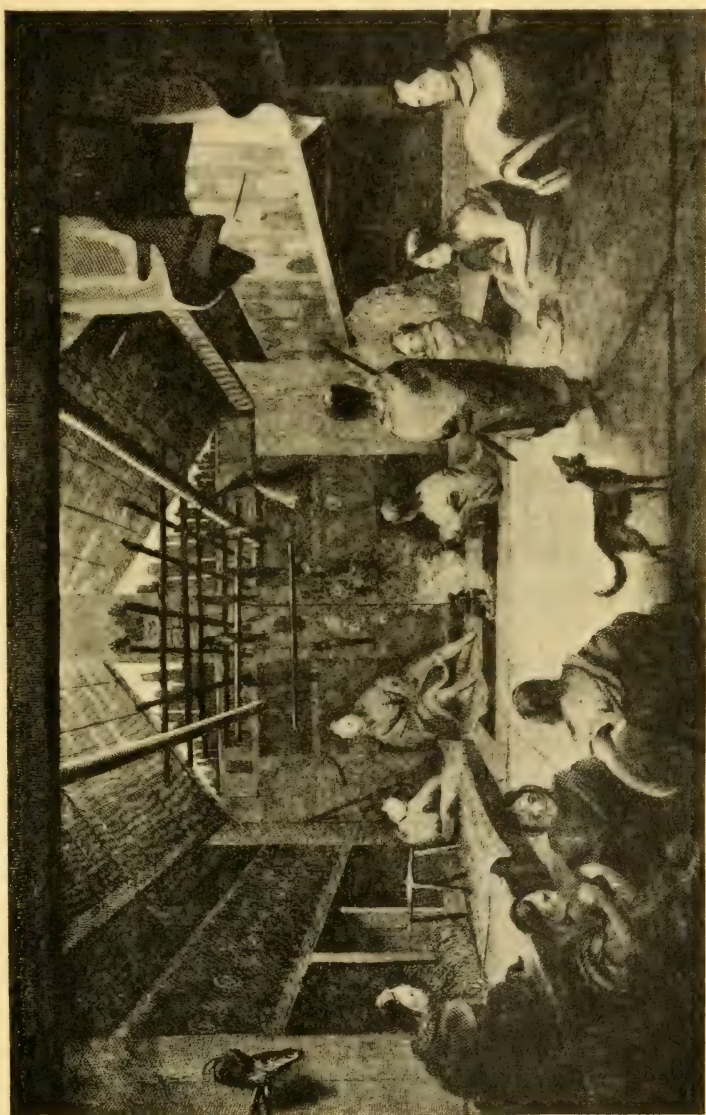
HOUSE OF COAST INDIANS.

Built of boards split from cedar logs. These houses were sometimes more than one hundred feet long. Simon Fraser saw one on Fraser River nearly eight hundred feet long.



the family ~~settled~~ ^{placed} ~~themselves~~ ^{themselves} ~~one~~ ^{one} ~~place~~ ^{place} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~another~~ ^{another}, which they ~~usually~~ ^{usually} ~~did~~ ^{did}, and ~~had~~ ^{had} ~~each~~ ^{each} ~~placed~~ ^{placed} ~~themselves~~ ^{themselves} in the ~~middle~~ ^{middle} ~~of~~ ^{of} the ~~house~~ ^{house}. ~~They~~ ^{They} ~~had~~ ^{had} ~~placed~~ ^{placed} ~~themselves~~ ^{themselves} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~middle~~ ^{middle} ~~of~~ ^{of} the ~~house~~ ^{house} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~skins~~ ^{skins} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~house~~ ^{house} ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~constructed~~ ^{constructed} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~skins~~ ^{skins} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~house~~ ^{house} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~dogs~~ ^{dogs} ~~were~~ ^{were} ~~placed~~ ^{placed} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~middle~~ ^{middle}, ~~his~~ ^{his} ~~wives~~ ^{wives} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~slaves~~ ^{slaves}, ~~with~~ ^{with} ~~their~~ ^{their} ~~children~~ ^{children}, ~~ranged~~ ^{ranged} ~~themselves~~ ^{themselves} ~~on~~ ^{on} ~~either~~ ^{on} ~~side~~ ^{side} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~whole~~ ^{whole} ~~set~~ ^{set} ~~off~~ ^{off} ~~continued~~ ^{continued} ~~for~~ ^{for} ~~an~~ ^{an} ~~excess~~ ^{excess} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~many~~ ^{many} ~~days~~ ^{days}.

Many of the Great Lakes built permanent houses for their winter homes, and some of these were of large dimensions, a single dwelling being sometimes as much as sixty feet long. They were constructed of very large cedar planks; thirty or forty feet in length, four or five inches thick, and several were joined together, one above another, up to the roof. The houses were sunk several feet in the ground, and the walls were not high. The roof was of bark laid in single folds, supported by poles laid lengthwise of the ridge. A winter home, especially in Puget Sound, was very much unlike this, which was made of small split boards, or "shakes." The boards of the roof were especially prepared, so as not to leak; every joint hole or indentation being carefully channeled, so as to turn water from the opening. The boards for these houses were sometimes carried around from place to place, though the winter houses were usually abandoned in summer, and the remains of these temporary abandoned winter houses that Vancouver found near the Sound, led him to suppose that some Indian epidemic, or great war, had greatly reduced the Indian population. Houses of a temporary character were common in the Willamette Valley, but at the mouth of that river they were generally of the more permanent style. In the center of the large houses was a place for fire; in some of the largest, several fires were kept going when the weather was cold enough. An opening was



sometimes left in the roof for the escape of smoke, but quite frequently only cracks were left for that purpose. Around the sides of the room, and extending under the eaves, was a raised platform serving as a place for beds, which were made of mats, and for general storage purposes. One large house made room for many occupants; sometimes for several families.

The tribes whose habitat was beyond the Cascades, lived in tepees made of poles and covered with skins, similar to those used by the Sioux, Crows and other tribes living east of the rocky range, or in more rudely shaped huts made of mats. Along the Columbia above the Dalles, Lewis and Clark found houses built of boards or the boards of which houses had been made carefully taken down and piled away for another season's use. These houses were or had been used by the Indians during the fishing season, and had been taken down and piled together for greater safety until they should be needed again.

They also found that the Indians along the upper waters of the Lewis River showed considerable skill in the construction of fish weirs of willow, with traps in which the fish were easily taken in their migrations. Farther west, particularly among the coast tribes, fish were taken in nets. Those used by the Chinooks and Clatsops for taking salmon were made of twine, woven from the wild flax that grew in the upper country, and was an extensive article of commerce. This was rotted and treated much as flax in use at present, and made a strong fiber. Fibers of roots, such as of the cedar, spruce and hemlock trees, were also used, or had been at least before the commerce with the up-river Indians began. The nets made of these fibers were of the gill-net type, and no doubt the modern gill-net in use on the Columbia and over

the entire coast, was taken from the Indian model. The Indian nets were several fathoms in length, and were supported by floats that stood upright when drawn, and were held perpendicular in the water by stone sinkers. The nets were thus drifted in the water and the salmon taken. At the falls of the rivers, as at Oregon City, the Cascades and Dalles, the salmon were speared. The patience and skill shown by the Indians in spearing fish has often been noticed by travelers, and was the wonder and admiration of the earlier pioneers.

Great skill was shown in the fabrication of their bows and arrows. Vancouver has left us this minute description of those he observed in the possession of the Indians in the neighborhood of Port Discovery and Hood's Canal.

"Their spears, arrows, fishgigs, and other weapons were shaped exactly like those of Nootka; but none were pointed with copper, or with muscle shell. The three former were generally barbed, and those pointed with common flint, agate, and bone, seemed of their original workmanship. Yet more of their arrows were observed to be pointed with thin flat iron than with bone or flint, and it was very singular that they should prefer exchanging those pointed with iron to any of the others. Their bows were of a superior construction; these in general were from two and a half to three feet in length; the broadest part in the middle was about an inch and a half wide, and about three-quarters of an inch thick; neatly made, gradually tapering to each end, which terminated in a shoulder and a hook, for the security of the bow string. They were all made of yew, and chosen with a naturally inverted curve suited to the method of using them. From end to end of the concave side, which when strung became the convex part, a very strong strip of an elastic hide

is attached to some, and the skins of serpents to others, exactly the shape and length of the bow, neatly and firmly affixed to the wood by means of cement, the adhesive property of which I never saw, or heard of being, equalled. It is not to be affected by either dry or damp weather, and forms so strong a connection with the wood, as to prevent a separation without destroying the compotent parts of both. The bow string is made of the sinews of some marine animal, laid loose, in order to be twisted at pleasure, as the temperature of the atmosphere may require to preserve it at a proper length. Thus is this very neat little weapon rendered portable, elastic, and effective in the highest degree, if we may be allowed to judge by the dexterity with which it was used by one of the natives at Port Discovery."

That the Indians of the interior were not behind those of the Sound in this art is shown by this description, by Lewis and Clark, of the bows and arrows they found in use on the Kooskooskie: "The bow is made of cedar or pine, covered on the outer side with sinews and glue. It is about two and a half feet long, and does not differ in shape from those used by the Sioux, Mandans, and Minnetarees. Sometimes, however, the bow is made of a single piece of the horn of an elk, covered on the back like those of wood with sinews and glue, and occasionally ornamented by a strand wrought of porcupine quills and sinews, which is wrapped round the horn near its two ends. The bows made of the horns of the bighorn, are still more prized, and are formed by cementing with glue flat pieces of the horn together, covering the back with sinews and glue, and loading the whole with an unusual quantity of ornaments. The arrows resemble those of the other Indians, except in being more slender than any we have seen. They are contained, with the implements for striking

fire, in a narrow quiver formed of different kinds of skin, though that of the otter seems to be preferred. It is just long enough to protect the arrows from the weather, and is worn on the back by means of a strap passing over the right shoulder and under the left arm. The shield is a circular piece of buffalo hide about two feet four or five inches in diameter, ornamented with feathers, and a fringe round it of dressed leather, and adorned or deformed with paintings of strange figures."

The tools used by the Indians, before iron was brought by the whites, were formed of bone or flint, joined to wooden handles, by the sinews of deer or elk. The horns of deer or elk, and the teeth of fish were also used to some extent. The sharp flints used for cutting were obtained in an ingenious manner. A flint stone was wrapped in wet moss, and then covered in a heap of hot stones, with earth. By the heat and steam the stone would be split into fragments, from which cutting edges of all sizes and shapes could be taken, whether for knives, spearheads, arrowheads, or axes or adzes. With implements made in this way the Indians were able to fell the largest trees, and to rive the longest planks. In riving timber they used also gluts made of the hard spruce knots. They also used mallets, or mauls, the ax being held against the tree, and driven by a blow of the maul. The adze was made of sharp stone, or later a piece of iron, set between two forks of a stick, being somewhat diagonally placed; and with this a knife stroke could be obtained, and very fine cutting, or shaving, be performed.

The principal household utensils were baskets, so woven as to be watertight, the material being spruce, cedar, or hemlock root fibers, interwoven with tough grasses of various kind. The baskets for cooking were made with a cover

for the top. Articles to be cooked were first placed in the basket, and partly covered with water. Hot stones were prepared, and after first being dipped in hot water, to remove any ashes, were dropped into the pot. The cover was then shut down, and after a time the food was cooked as thoroughly as need be.

In the manufacture of these baskets, as well as in the preparation of skins and various fibers for clothing, the Indian women displayed great skill and ingenuity, and even a rude art. The baskets were of two kinds, the hard and the soft, according to the materials obtainable, and the location, or even the name of the tribe may easily be told by their baskets, by those who have observed them carefully. The soft baskets were made of grasses only, and are mostly made by the Indians inhabiting the island and more northern coasts of Alaska. The hard baskets are made of coarser and harsher grasses, or reeds, and some fibrous bark. Both are more or less ornamented, the material being stained with dyes which they knew how to make in various ways. The dyed strands were woven into various crude patterns sometimes in simple wavy lines, sometimes in zigzag lines, sometimes in something resembling geometric figures, and in rare instances in figures intended to represent men, women, horses and dogs. These figures are always very rude and the horses can be distinguished from the dogs only in one way; if the tail turns up it is a dog, if down it is a horse.

Baskets of both the hard and soft kinds would hold water, and were used for cooking, as has been described. Dried berries for the winter were also stored in them, as was also dried fish and dried clams. This gave them that "ancient and fishlike smell," that is so generally inseparable from them.

Many kinds of food were in use, salmon and other fish being most abundant anywhere along the coast, or course of the Columbia. Many of the myths of the Indians relate to articles of food, reptiles of all kinds being regarded as loathsome. Cannibalism seems never to have been practiced by any of the Indians in Oregon and Washington. Elk and deer were captured by the Clatsops in pits dug in the earth, and covered with brush and sods; by the Puget Sound Indians a method of driving the deer to a point of an island, or into a corral made of brush and seaweed, is mentioned. The Willamette Valley Indians stalked deer under the cover of a buck's head and skin thrown over the shoulders, shooting with arrows when the game came within range. The flesh and blubber of the whale were highly esteemed by the coast tribes, and a whale hunt was perhaps the most exciting event in the lives of the earlier Indian inhabitants.

Samuel Hancock, one of the earliest settlers in the territory, who was for a considerable time a trader among the Sound Indians, and who spent some time at Neah Bay between 1849 and 1851, has left, in an unpublished manuscript, a spirited description of one of these hunts, as he saw it in that locality. "The canoes of the Neah Bay tribe are not as large as those used by the Indians farther north, but are able to accommodate from fifteen to twenty persons. All but one of these ply the paddles; one stands at the bow of the canoe armed with a heavy spear, the point of which is made of bone, with a peculiar kind of shell attached, forming a strong, sharp barb. This bone point with its shell barb, is heart-shaped and firmly cemented together. The handle is of considerable length, and the whole instrument weighed probably fifteen or twenty pounds. To the end of the handle a very strong and pliant line, made of the sinews of some

animal, is attached. These lines are made with the greatest care, and have at the end an inflated buoy, highly colored so that it may be readily seen at some distance.

“When a whale is observed in the neighborhood the canoes are quickly made ready. Once their crews are on board, with the harpoon thrower in his place at the bow, they are driven through the water with great rapidity. The paddlers understand the habits of their game perfectly. They approach him near enough to strike him if they can while he is still above water, but if this cannot be done, which is usually the case, all the canoes make off in the direction he was going when he disappeared, and get as near as they can to the place where he is most likely to reappear. The greatest excitement prevails, for the honors of the chase, as well as the largest share of the reward, go to him who first sinks his harpoon in the whale. Yet no noise is made. The paddles are so deftly used as to cause the least possible disturbance in the water. When the monster reappears all the boats rush at him, and generally one or more of the harpoons are skillfully driven into his blubbery sides. Then the real excitement of the hunt begins. The whale dives, taking with him the weapons of his tormentors. The lines which have been carefully coiled in the bow of each canoe, are allowed to run out, though not more rapidly than need be. The inflated buoy is not thrown over until absolutely necessary to save the canoe from swamping, for as long as it can be retained it helps to keep the canoe in the neighborhood of the game its occupants are so eager to capture. Generally, however, it is necessary to let go, for the whale, in his great pain, dives so deep that the canoe would be drawn under if the line were not detachable. Sometimes half a dozen or more of these buoys are floating about, and a new one is

added every time the now badly wounded animal rushes to the surface. In time, if the battle happens to be a long one, there are so many of these as to prevent his diving to any considerable depth, and greatly impede his progress through the water. More numerous and more effective throws by the harpooners now soon end the battle. The sea far around is covered with blood, and the huge monster lies on its surface completely at the mercy of his tormentors.

“Getting their prize to land is the most serious part of the enterprise,” says Mr. Hancock, “and I have known them to be three days and nights bringing one to the Bay where I lived, nearly at the entrance of the Strait. After getting it ashore the entire tribe, great and small, male and female, go to work taking off the blubber, or dipping the oil out of the head. They load their canoes with the fat part, and then take the meat which they eat. The whalebone they attach no value to, and make no use of it that I could discover, but clean the entrails and use them to contain oil. They melt the blubber, and procure the oil it contains by hanging it before the fire, or cutting it in small pieces which they put in close baskets with hot rocks. They are fond of the oil as well at the meat, and use it as molasses.”

The Indians dressed in fibers made from the roots or bark of trees, one of the most common articles for the women being a sort of kirtle, made of fibers, which hung from the waist to the knee. They also wove cloth made of root fibers and dogs' hair, and used skins of animals cured with the fur on, and dressed deerskins. The deerskins were prepared, after removing the hair, by rubbing with the brains of the deer until soft, and then smoking them over a fire. This made a very fine soft article. Leggings and moccasins were

INDIAN VILLAGE.

After a print in "a Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, 1790-1795, by Captain George Vancouver."

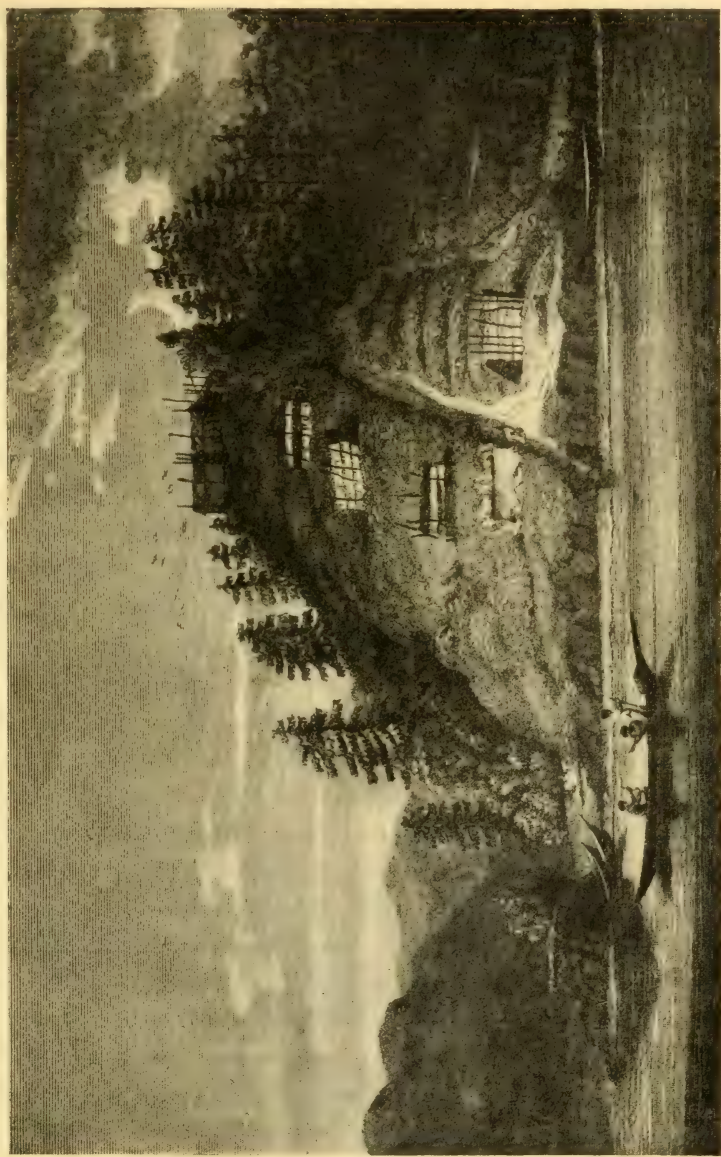


SUGAR-KAYE

which every time the more badly wounded animal makes as the ~~survivor~~ ^{survivor} in nature, ~~at the same time~~ ^{it appears to be a} long one; there are so many of these as to prevent his doing so any considerable depth, and greatly impede his progress through the water. More numerous and more effective darts by the harpooners now seen and the battle. The sea far around is covered with blood, and the huge monster lies on his surface completely at the mercy of his opponents.

"Coming their prize to land is the most serious part of the campaign," says Mr. Harbeck, "and I have known them at these days and nights bringing one to the Bay where I lived, nearly at the entrance of the Strait. After getting a whole lot more time, great and small, male and female, go all work taking off the blubber, or dipping the oil out of it with a bowl. They load their canoes with the fat part, and then take the meat which they eat. The sealhouse they attach no value to, and make no use of it that I could discover, but clean the morsels and use them as tallow oil. They make the blubber, and preserve the oil or tallow by hanging it before the fire, or setting it in small pieces which they put in close baskets with hot rocks. They are fond of the oil as well as the meat, and use it as molasses."

The Indians dressed in their trade from the roots or bark of oaks, one of the most numerous articles for the women being a sort of kilt, made of fibers, which hung from the waist to the knee. They also wore cloths made of root fibers and dogs' hair, and used skins of animals cured with the fat oil, and dressed differently. The skins were prepared after removing the hair by rubbing with the brains of the deer until soft, and then smoking them over a fire. This made a very hot soft article. Leggings and moccasins were



made of deerskins. Hats woven to a peak, and made of grass, afforded good protection from the rain.

In their primitive life both men and women had their regular employment. The men were not trained to long and sustained exertion, but those on the coast were more accustomed to work than those of the interior. All the tribes practiced polygamy and held slaves. Intermarriages among tribes were common, especially among chiefs' sons and daughters. The chief who could afford the most wives was esteemed for his wealth. Slaves were obtained by purchase or capture, and stealing slaves was a constant source of irritation among the tribes.

Probably the largest and most powerful of the coast tribes was the Chinooks, who were allied with the Clatsops, the Wahkiahkums, Kathlamets, and even having a connection with the Wascoes, at the Dalles. They were connected by frequent intermarriages with the Tillamooks on the south, and the Chehalis on the north, though their language is very different from either of these. They were spoken of as the Salish tribes. A very powerful tribe at one time were the Cayuses, though small in numbers; they being connected with the Walla Wallas and Umatillas, and occupying the foothills of the Blue Mountains on their western side. Their old language, now discarded, shows a connection with the Molallas, who lived at the west of Mount Hood. They are also said to be connected with the Snoqualmies, whose home was on Whidby Island and the eastern shore of the Sound.

The languages spoken by the various tribes or families were very distinct, and until the Chinook jargon was invented, members of the different nations could not converse except in signs or by pictures. It is stated by Horatio Hale, who visited the Sound as an attaché of the Wilkes expedition in

1841, that he discovered as many as twelve entirely distinct languages among the natives within the limits of Oregon. There were probably more than this. Tribes closely adjoining and having, on the whole, friendly relations, often used languages entirely separate, as the Chehalis and Chinooks, the former occupying the country of Gray's Harbor. The Nisquallies, Puyallup, Duwamish, Tulalips, and all the tribes living on the east side of Puget Sound, as far north as the British Columbia line, spoke dialects of the same language, and could converse readily when they met, but they could not understand the language of the Clallams, who lived near Port Townsend, nor that of the Chehalis or Chinook tribes. They could also understand the Yakima and Klickitats, who lived east of the mountains, and by whom they were frequently visited, though their language was not the same, and their habits and modes of living were very different. Still the members of these tribes frequently intermarried and, as we shall see, they were easily united in a common cause during the Indian war of 1855. One of the most widely dispersed languages was the Old Chinook, which was spoken as far up the Columbia as the Dalles, and among the Clatsops, and in a modified form by the Tillamooks. It is stated by Hale that many of the wars and troubles among the different nations arose from the differences in language; members of different section meeting casually and not understanding one another often fancied by resemblance of sounds, that some slight or insult was intended, where no offense was meant. It is significant of the character of the two leading tribes—Chinook and Cayuse—that the name of the former, in the Chinook jargon, has been extended over the entire coast as the term for a language, while the Cayuse remains only as the name of a horse.

The great family of the upper Columbia Basin has been called the Sahaptin. This includes the Cayuses, Walla Wallas, Nez Perces and Flatheads. These are among the brightest and most powerful of the native people. They have been much connected by blood and marriage, yet it is apparent that the Nez Perces are a very different people from the Cayuses. The Spokanes, the Yakimas, and the Klikitats, were powerful tribes of eastern or northern Washington, but had no such close relations with the whites as had the others.

The origin of the Indians has long been a subject for interesting speculation. From their old and strongly diverse languages, and their very marked mental traits and physical mould, it would perhaps appear that they came from different parts of the world. But there are other indications which suggest that they have a common origin, though having long dwelt apart. A comparison of the numerals, for instance, shows that tribes so far separated as the Chinooks and Spokanes, or the Nez Perces and Klamaths, counted by the same words. A comparison of their myths also shows that many of the most popular were extended as far as from the Chehalis to the Klamaths, the Chinooks to the Spokanes, and even from the Kalamaths and the Nez Perces to the Omahas of Nebraska. All the languages, also, seem to show certain common mental and moral characteristics, and about an equal stage of development in the scale of ethnology.

A favorite theory of those who have speculated most on this interesting subject is that all the original inhabitants of North America came from Asia. Everyone who has observed the map of the North Pacific, since the time of Bering, has noted the natural bridge which the Aleutian Islands make from one continent to the other, and it has doubtless occurred

to many who have given the subject no more than a passing thought, that a primitive people might easily make their way along this chain from one shore to the other. It has already been shown, in this history, how the Russian inhabitants of Siberia did make their way across in considerable numbers after Bering's time, in far less seaworthy craft than the Indian or Esquimaux are accustomed to use. That Asiatics crossed thus to America, or that Americans crossed to Asia, in any considerable numbers has never been shown, and doubtless never will be shown, but that occasional involuntary voyages have been made there is abundant proof. In the daily "journal of occurrences," kept at Fort Nisqually, mention is made of the arrival of the ship *Llama*, Captain McNeil, from the *Columbia*, on June 9, 1834, "having on board two Chinese he picked up from the natives near Cape Flattery, where a vessel of that nation had been wrecked not long since. There is still one amongst the Indians, inland, but a promise is made of getting the poor fellow on the coast by the time the *Llama* gets there." The "poor fellow" was subsequently picked up, and the three were taken to Vancouver, where they proved to be Japanese and not Chinese. These are the three castaways of whom Mrs. Eva Emery Dye has made such excellent use in her spirited and entertaining story "*McDonald of Oregon*." They had doubtless been blown far off the coast of Japan by a typhoon, and swept across the whole broad expanse of the North Pacific by the Japanese current.

How many other hapless Japanese fishermen were thus swept across to the American coast, in earlier times, it is of course impossible to know, but it may be presumed that happenings of this kind were not infrequent. There is a less perfectly established account of the arrival on the California

coast, many years ago, of a Japanese boat containing a man, a woman and a Buddhist priest. The people of Hawaii say that a long time ago, probably as early as the thirteenth century, a Japanese boat reached those islands at Kabului Bay, and its crew remained there, intermarrying with the natives; also that a Spanish ship, probably one of those sent out by Cortez, was wrecked there, the only survivors being the captain and his sister. These were welcomed by the natives and elevated to the rank of chiefs. More than all this it now seems to be fairly well established that the original Hawaiians came from some of the more remote islands in the southern Pacific Ocean. How or when they came cannot now be known, but similarities in language, and race characteristics, as well as in their legends, myths, and folklore, make it certain that they and other people now living as remote from them as the inhabitants of New Zealand, came at some remote period from the same stock. That they should have found their way so far, by the rude sort of conveyances at their command, through the trackless ocean, is not more remarkable than that land birds should cross the Atlantic, and Mr. Darwin tell us that some of these are blown across from North America to the western shores of Ireland and England almost every year.*

Speculations of this kind belong rather to the naturalist than the historian. We find the Indian here, and know that he has been here for a long time; it is not necessary for our purpose to know whence he came, though it is interesting to trace out such parts of the history of the race as may be easily learned and established beyond doubt. It seems to be clear that these native races have advanced more or less steadily from north to south. Gatschet notes this fact, and

*Origin of Species (D. Appleton & Co., 1896), Vol. II, p. 150.

Prescott some years earlier found that the traditions of the Aztecs, and of the Toltecs, who preceded them, indicated that they had come from the north, forcing in advance of them other still earlier inhabitants. If, therefore, it could be established that the Indians today came originally from Asia, we should still be unable to account for the origin of earlier races now extinct, who preceded them, and should be little, if any, nearer the determination of the great question as to the common origin of the human family.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE FIRST WHITE MEN IN OREGON.

THE first white people who visited the coast of Oregon, who have left any record of their visit, noted with surprise that many of the Indians already knew the value of iron, and that some of them possessed arrowheads of that metal, as well as other articles that could not have been of their own invention or manufacture. Cook noted this as early as 1778, and although he knew of the voyages of the Spaniards in 1774 and 1775, he was convinced that "iron was too common here, was in too many hands and the use of it was too well known for them to have had the first knowledge of it so very lately, or indeed, at any earlier period, by any accidental supply from a ship. Doubtless from the general use they make of this metal, it may be supposed to come from some constant source of supply, by way of traffic, and that not of very late date, for they are as dextrous in using their tools as the largest practice can make them." Vancouver also noted, fourteen years later, that the Indians along the sound had many iron-tipped arrows, and that they parted with them more readily than with those that were pointed with bone or flint. But in his time the Indians at Nootka and points farther north had been trading with adventurers like Meares and Hanna, since 1785, and with explorers like Portlock and Dixon from a date almost as early. Later the American fur traders had come, and while there is no record that they had ever pushed their adventures into the great inland sea south of the Strait of Fuca, they had been sufficiently active to make it seem possible that they might have done so. Cook had fancied that their supply of iron, as well as of brass and copper, of which they had a considerable quantity, might have come to them through other Indians who had penetrated beyond the great mountain ranges, and procured them from

the stations of the Hudson's Bay and Northwest Fur companies. But this does not now seem probable. Vancouver learned nothing of such a traffic, though he had abundant opportunity to do so, if it had existed, in the many interviews he held with different tribes, while in the Sound, and afterwards while exploring the Gulf of Georgia, Johnstone Strait and the shores of Queen Charlotte's Sound. Mackenzie, who first crossed the mountains and reached the ocean in 1793, makes no mention of ever having met any Indians from the coast on the eastern slope of the great range, and having been for a long time in charge of the most advanced outpost of the eastern fur companies, he would have been likely to know, if the Indians themselves knew, of trade relations with Indians on the coast.

It is therefore practically certain that the iron, brass and probably the copper which their first white visitors, so far as we now know, found in their possession, came to them by way of the sea, and not by way of the land. Where did they come from? It may be safely answered that the Russians, the only other white people known to have been in this part of the world, did not supply them, since they had themselves crossed to this side, or many of them had, in boats lashed together with leathern thongs. The Japanese did not provide them, for they were a hermit nation, having no relations with the outside world except through the Dutch. The Chinese were hardly enterprising enough to have done it.

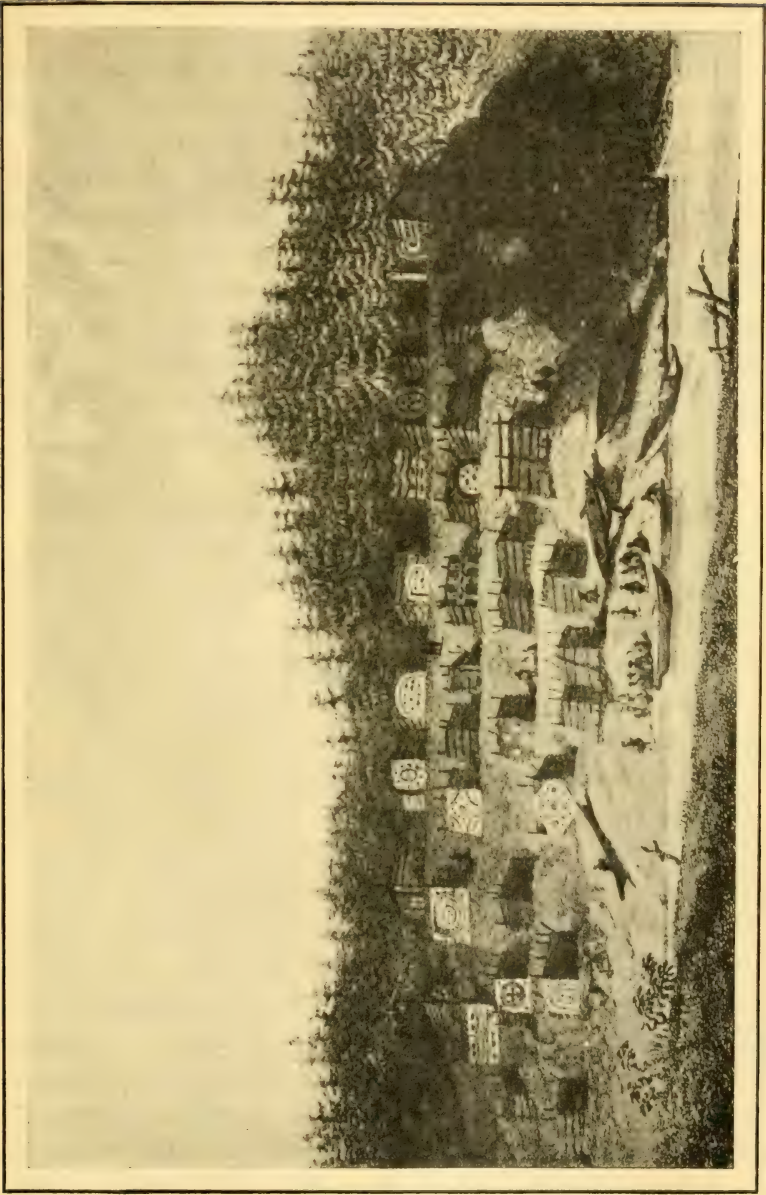
The only other possible presumption must be that this iron, brass, and copper came from Spanish galleons that had been cast away and never heard from, or from chance visits by pirates like John Oxenham, or the Dutch Pichilingues, who were numerous for a time along the coast further south. It is not at all improbable that the whole coast may have

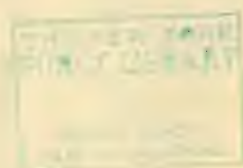
CESLAKE VILLAGE.

From a print in "a voyage of Discovery to the north Pacific Ocean, 1790-1795, by Captain George Vancouver." This village was on the shore of Johnstone's Strait.



the coast of the Sound, and had abundant opportunities to do so, if it had existed, in the many interviews he held with different tribes, while in the Sound, and afterwards while exploring the Gulf of Georgia, Johnstone Strait and the shores of Queen Charlotte's Sound. Mackenzie, who first quitted the mountains and reached the ocean in 1791, makes no mention of ever having met any Indians from the coast on the eastern slope of the great range, and having been for a long time in charge of the most advanced outpost of the western fur companies, he would have been likely to know, if the Indians themselves knew, of trade relations with Indians on the coast.





been fairly well known to those gentry in their time, for they sailed far and made no reports of their wanderings.

There are among the coast Indians certain traditions in regard to the first appearance of white men among them, that are of peculiar interest in this connection. These traditions, or some of them, have been collected by the late Mr. Silas B. Smith, of Oregon, whose mother was Celiast, daughter of the Indian chief Kobiway, of the Clatsops, and whose father was Hon. Solomon H. Smith, who came to Oregon with Nathaniel J. Wyeth in 1832. They are here given at length as published in Mr. H. S. Lyman's history of Oregon:

“Three appearances of white men are described. A point near the mouth of the Columbia is the scene of one; the sides of Necahnie mountain, of another, and the mouth of the Nehalem, of the other. The incident at Necahnie Mountain has been spoken of as ‘the coming of the treasure ship.’ This is probably the least important of the three. According to the tradition of the Indians, a ship appeared in the offing at that place, and coming to, dropped a boat, which was then rowed ashore. A box, or chest, was carried by the men who made a landing and ascended the mountain side. A hole was then dug, into which they lowered the chest, and a man being killed, as some say, both the chest and the body of the man were buried together. The killing of the man is uncertain, as the word used for a dead body is also applied to a crucifix. It is a mere inference also that the box, or chest, contained treasure. If a man were killed, however, the latter is a reasonable inference, as the Indians would not dare to rifle a grave. After the chest, with the body, or the crucifix, as the case might have been, was buried, characters were cut on the face of the rock, and the unknown

adventurers returned in the boat to the ship, which soon sailed away. Persistent search has been made for this treasure, parties even from the eastern states having looked for it. It was on the southwest side that it was buried, and if ever deposited there it is probable that the edge of the cliff has long since been washed into the sea by the constant erosion. The Indian tradition points to an undoubted landing, but at what time is not indicated; it was probably not very long before the white men's recorded discoveries.

"The second appearance of white men, mentioned by Mr. Smith, was just north of the mouth of the Nehalem River, also not far from Necahnie Mountain. The Indians state that a ship of the white men was driven ashore here, and wrecked. The crew, however, survived, and reaching land, lived for some time with the natives. A large part of the vessel's cargo was beeswax. But in course of several months the white men became obnoxious to the Indians, on account of violating their marital relations. The whites were consequently killed, but fought to defend themselves, using slung shots. As Mr. Smith notes, this would indicate that they had lost their arms and ammunition. The beeswax has been found from time to time, drifted at some distance along the beach. The greater portion, however, has been covered over with sand to a considerable depth, and lies at an old beach, several feet above the present. Mr. Smith does not think it necessary to suppose that it was brought to its present location—or where the greater part has been discovered—by the action of the waves, but probably by the sailors who thus attempted to save the cargo. By some mineralogists the material has been pronounced not beeswax, but the paraffine produced in nature, from the products of coal or petroleum. But the true beeswax of the material

seems well proven by the fact that it occurs in cakes of considerable size, weighing ten pounds or so, each, and marked with the monogram I. H. S. Tapers also, of large size, some without the wicks, but some also with them, are found among the rest. This still might possibly not prove the animal origin, as the wax might have been taken originally from some European mineral deposit; but the presence of a bee, as it is stated, in some of the wax, would nearly settle the question.

“Nevertheless the point of particular interest is not the animal or mineral origin of the material, but that it came to its present location by the act of white men—as no others would mould the letters characteristic of the Catholic faith upon the cakes. The conjecture of Mr. Smith, that it was a supply vessel from Mexico, for some mission in California, carried out of her course, and finally wrecked upon the Oregon coast, is probably the true explanation. The further conjecture that it was the ship *San José*, which left La Paz, Lower California, June 16, 1769, loaded with mission supplies for San Diego, Upper California, and was never again heard from, may also prove correct.

“It is not known that any permanent advantage or influence was left with the Indians by the wreck of this beeswax ship. An entertaining story has been told that one of the survivors of the wreck, who had blue eyes and golden hair, became the husband of a Nehalem woman, and that he was the father, or grandfather of a blue-eyed and freckled-faced Indian, of the family to which a somewhat noted chief who occupied a beautiful spot on the banks of a lake, afterwards called for him *Quaiculliby*, or *Culliby*, belonged. A blonde Indian is mentioned by Lewis and Clark, but in 1805 sufficient intercourse with whites had been established to account

for such an occurrence, without recourse to the event of the year 1769—if the lost ship were truly the ‘San José.’

“The scene of the third appearance of white men mentioned by Mr. Smith, but probably the first in order of time, was about two miles south of the mouth of the Columbia. This bears upon the face of the Indian narrative, the evidence of being the very first coming of the white men remembered by the Oregon Indians. According to some of the accounts the ship was sighted during an afternoon in strawberry time, and watched with superstitious interest, the Clatsops thinking it possible that this was a reappearance of Tallapus. During the night, however, whether or not that be an imaginative introduction, the ship came ashore, and in the morning a woman living on the weather side of the plains, was startled by the appearance of a person, in garb singular to her, and with a long beard flowing down upon his breast. The wreck was lying in the breakers, and two men were on the beach, having built a fire there among the driftwood, and were roasting pop corn; and they made signs to her for water. She was much startled by their appearance, and went to the village for help, wailing out as she went, ‘I have found people who are men, and who yet are bears.’ The Clatsops going together to the place were astonished at the sight of the white men, and even more so at the food they were cooking—the corn popping in the coals being, down to the present day, one of the most exciting episodes of the narrative. It is said, too, that the chief was not fully satisfied that these were really men, until he had carefully examined their hands, and found they agreed perfectly with his own.

“‘From the manner of the coming of these castaways,’ says Mr. Smith, ‘the Clatsops and Chinooks named all white persons, without respect to nationality, Tlo-hon-nipts, that

is, "Of those who drifted ashore." This would indicate, beyond all doubt, that this was the first seen of the white men by Indians.'

"The two whites were claimed as slaves, and after the ship, which at low tide could be reached from the land, was ransacked and looted, it was discovered that one of the men was able to make knives from the iron, and the ship was then burned to obtain the iron. The name of the iron worker, as rendered by the Indians, was Konapee. He and his companion were at first compelled to labor incessantly, but in the course of time were held in high favor and given their liberty. Being allowed to select a site, Konapee came around to the Columbia River side of the peninsula and built a house of his own. This place was called by the Indians Konapee long after his departure, and, indeed, down to the times of the white settlements, or later. Among other articles brought by Konapee were a number of Chinese cash, which were kept among the Indians, and called 'Konapee's money.' By some it has been supposed the vessel wrecked here was a Japanese or Chinese junk, drifting across the ocean and lost. But this supposition is unnecessary, as the Spaniards had early established trading relations with the Phillippines and Chinese ports, and a vessel returning would be almost certain to have an abundance of Chinese cash. On the other hand a Japanese or Chinese junk would not have men with beards, nor by any possibility have Indian corn, and a ship from Mexico might easily have a supply left over.

"Bearing out still further the idea that this was a Spanish ship is the reference by Gabriel Franchere, in 1814, to meeting an old man at the Cascades, whose name was Soto, and the son of a Spaniard, who was one of four wrecked at the mouth of the Columbia. While the number is not the same,

the Indians stating two, and Soto stating four, the other circumstances are so alike that it is more than probable that the father of Soto was Konapee—Konapee having later attempted, as is also said by the Indians, to reach the land of the sunrise, and going from the mouth of the Columbia to the Cascades and marrying there an Indian woman. A daughter of Konapee, or Soto, is also mentioned by Mr. Smith, she being an old woman in about 1830, when seen by Mr. Smith's mother. Calculating the age of Soto at about eighty, that given by Franchere in 1811, it would appear that Konapee was drifted upon the coast of Oregon in about the year 1725, or about a century after the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth Rock.

“It would thus seem quite certain that the Columbia was first seen by Spaniards, but it was not discovered—that is, the fact of this event was never made known to the civilized world, and no benefit to civilization resulted. However, while Konapee, who may have been a man of intelligence, and whose life on the lordly Columbia may have been one of the great romances of the world, as it certainly could not have been otherwise had he understood that he was actually in possession of the greatest geographical secret of the age, was destined to spend his days with the savages, never to return to his native land, we can trace very important results from his accidental landing at the Columbia. From him the Clatsops and Chinooks, and probably many other tribes learned the fact that there were white men, and the knowledge seemed to be pretty generally spread that on the salt water to the west there were men with beards sailing ships.*

*The first Shoshone Indians seen by Lewis and Clark after crossing the mountains spoke of the great river leading to the ocean where white men lived.

The impression gained of Konapee in regard to white men was one of dignity, and generally favorable. Most of all, through him they learned the use of iron—one of the great inventions of the world's history, which introduced to the Oregon Indians a new industrial age. One of the very noticeable facts mentioned by Cook in his observations of the Indians along the coast was that they showed no surprise at the sight of iron implements or weapons. He was somewhat puzzled to account for their acquaintance with this metal. It was perhaps Konapee first of all who introduced iron among the people of the Pacific northwest coast.

“The effect of this upon the disposition and the progress of the Columbia River Indians might have been very marked. The desire for iron would lead to a desire to see more of the white men's ships, and to consider the white men as friends. They would naturally learn from Konapee that the whites would trade them iron for any valuables, such as food or clothing. They would also form a very respectful opinion of the white men, as persons of unusual power, and gradually gain the idea that it was not only humane but wise to treat any that came among them with great circumspection. Whether or not this disposition dated entirely from Konapee, at all events, we find it preëminently marked in this tribe. All the whites ever visiting the Columbia, except on one or two occasions, and then for special reasons, were treated with perfect friendliness and consideration, and the one article inquired for was iron. The love of beads and blankets and looking glasses and other trinkets was fostered later.

“The immediate effect of Konapee's residence and work among the Clatsops may have been considerable to increase the power of that tribe. We find that the father of Kobaiway, the latter being chief at the time of Lewis and Clark's visit,

became one of the greatest of the chiefs of the coast country, having sufficient wealth to support twenty wives, and to thus form alliances with many different tribes. As each wife had a number of slaves, and as the Clatsop chief must keep an efficient guard for his numerous household, it appears that his own personal family was very large. Quite a portion of his wealth may have been derived from the skill of his artisans who shaped iron into knives, which probably sold for fabulous prices among the interior tribes."

These legends as to the coming of the white man among these Indians, at an unknown date prior to those visits of which we have authentic record, doubtless have some basis of truth. Of the beeswax ship there can be but little doubt; it was almost certainly the ship that was sent to supply the Franciscan missionaries in California, but which never reached them. Konapee may well have been a passenger on, or a member of the crew of, one of the numerous galleons that were lost on the way from the Philippines, after Urdaneta had shown the Spaniards how to make the return journey from those islands, by first sailing north out of the region of the trade winds. It is quite conceivable that many of them were driven much farther than those in command of them intended to go, by violent storms, and it would be strange if some of them did not reach the coast of Oregon. But whether these chance visitors brought to the coast Indians the iron, brass and copper which the earliest known navigators found in their possession, who shall say?

CHAPTER XVII.

DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN.

SOON after the warring fur companies had combined and consolidated their interests, under the name and style of the Hudson's Bay Company, the whole fur-bearing part of the continent, covered and to be covered by its operations, was divided into four departments, one of which, the western, comprised the whole Pacific slope. The base of operations in this department was to be the Columbia River, and from that vantage point its enterprises were to be pushed as far to the north as the severity of the climate would permit trading posts to be maintained, except in the region already occupied by the Russians, and as far toward the south as British activity could force it in opposition to such feeble resistance as might be expected from the Spaniards. The whole coast, except that part of it which the Russians held, was regarded as a promising field for the exercise of British aggressiveness. Possession of a small part of it had been nominally restored to the United States in 1818, it was true, but the fur traders and the Indians alone occupied it. In the same year in which restoration had been made, a convention had been signed at London, by plenipotentiaries representing the American and British governments, in which it was agreed "that any country that may be claimed by either party on the northwest coast of America, westward of the Stony Mountains, shall, together with its harbors, bays, and creeks, and the navigation of all rivers within the same, be free and open for the term of ten years from the date of the signature of the present convention, to the vessels, citizens, and subjects, of the two powers; it being well understood that this agreement is not to be construed to the prejudice of any claim which either of the two high contracting parties may have to any part of the said country, nor shall it be taken to affect the claims of

any other power or state to any part of the said country; the only object of the high contracting parties, in that respect, being to prevent disputes and differences among themselves."

While this agreement left the country open to both, the British were in it, and the Americans were still far away. They were not yet a strong people. Their government was not aggressive, nor did it yet command the respect which it subsequently acquired. A lofty range of mountains, whose passes were not yet well known, lay between the Columbia basin and the region to which its fur traders had so far for the most part confined their operations, and there was believed to be still plenty of room for the exercise of their activities in the unexplored parts of the valley of the Mississippi, without crossing a difficult mountain barrier to trouble their competitors. From no other class of people was trouble anticipated. Under such conditions what might not be accomplished in ten years?

A young and energetic manager had only recently assumed control of the Hudson's Bay Company's affairs in Canada. He had not been bred to the fur business, but he had already begun to prove himself entitled to rank with such great predecessors as Prince Rupert and John Churchill, the first and great duke of Marlborough, and with such successors as Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal. During the first eleven years of his business life, George Simpson had been a clerk in the London counting house of his uncle, who was a wealthy merchant trading with the West Indies. He had attracted the attention of Lord Selkirk and Andrew Colvile, who were then the principal stockholders in the Hudson's Bay Company, living in London, and after a short experience in the central office of the Company in Fenchurch Street, he had been sent to York House, to take the active management of

the Company's affairs. Within three years after his arrival in Canada he had put an end to the reckless and often bloody competition between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Northwest Fur Company, and united them in one great fur trading concern, of which he soon became the all-powerful governor.

He was small of stature, but capable of great physical endurance. He was fond of travel, fond of display and fond of work, and he managed to gratify all three of these passions in his management of the Company. He believed the closest personal supervision to be necessary to successful management, and he accordingly spent much of his time in traveling from station to station, meeting and personally consulting with the factors, examining their work, and giving directions for extending their business, wherever extension promised to be profitable, cutting down expenses where business was not prosperous, and closing some establishments altogether where trade was exhausted. Employing the strongest paddlers, he embarked in his great canoe early in the season, and penetrated into the farthest wilds, and to the remotest stations. He took with him his piper, as well as a retinue of other servants and attendants, and in his travels maintained a state that could not be mistaken for anything less than that of the chief of the "lords of the rivers and forests." He was noted for the imperious and impetuous haste with which he drove his voyageurs through the lonely wilds, and for the state which he maintained even in the wilderness. Arriving in the neighborhood of one of the Company's posts, the boat was halted while the governor and all the party arrayed themselves in the costume of the Highlands, and a messenger was sent forward to announce the great man's coming. Then with the piper playing some favorite Scottish air on his

bagpipe, the boat advanced, and was met at the landing by the factor in charge and all his assistants and employees, with as many Indians as could be got together, and received with much form and ceremony. All this had a value of a certain kind, as most of the employees were of foreign birth, and were accustomed to pay a certain deference to their superiors, who claimed it as a matter of right. It also had a favorable effect with the Indians, who were thus impressed by the great man's coming, and with an idea of his wonderful importance. So the governor traveled from year to year from the St. Lawrence, Hudson's Bay and the wilds of Labrador, to the verge of the Arctic Ocean, twice crossed the continent, and once made the complete circuit of the globe.

When he had resolved to create a Western department beyond the mountains, he chose a man to be the supreme head of it who was in many respects his own opposite. Dr. John McLoughlin was a large man physically as well as mentally. He was fully six feet two inches tall, broad-shouldered and deep-chested, deliberate in action and dignified in every movement. His hair, worn long and falling down to his shoulders, had early turned white, giving him a venerable appearance, even when still young. The Indians called him "the white-headed eagle." Where the governor drove men he inspired them: where the governor was impetuous and imperious he was calm and even gentle, but he was never required to give an order a second time. When he spoke he was obeyed. He easily distinguished between great things and small things, and preferred great things, just as he preferred right rather than wrong and truth rather than error. But he never overlooked or neglected trifles when they might have an important bearing on matters of larger moment, or be the means of forwarding some far-reaching

policy. He could find time to talk with the humblest employee of the Company, who might be planning a home for his Indian wife, because he might in that way work out a plan for founding a colony, or he could send an armed force to demand the return of some article of trifling value stolen by an Indian, because by so doing he demonstrated to that Indian, and all other Indians, that no infraction of the Company's regulations, whether great or small, would be overlooked. But he did not delight in displaying his authority when there was no real occasion for it. The spirit of the motto on the Company's seal, he understood as well as the governor did, and would do as much to infuse it into all about him, though in a different way. *Pro Pelle Cutem*. It was a kind of devil's motto anyway, or was in Job's time, whether expressed in Latin or English, or Hebrew as it may have been. "Skin for skin, yea, all that a man hath." David Douglas, the famous botanist who gave his name to our Douglas fir, once mortally offended old Samuel Black, who was chief trader at Fort Kamloops, by saying that "no Hudson's Bay man had a soul above a beaver skin," but this was not true of McLoughlin. He was intensely human, a student, a philosopher and a benefactor of his kind. The employees in his department were as active, as daring and as enterprising as those in any other; they spared their own cuticle as little in the struggle for peltries as those who worked under the eye of the imperious governor, but when they parted with it did so willingly. The paddlers of the chief factor's canoe would drive it as far over the smooth surface of the river, or through the boiling rapids, or carry it as quickly across some portage as the stalwart voyageurs of the governor could drive his, but they needed no urging to do it. The chief factor naturally wished to go more swiftly

than anybody else, and therefore they bent to their work because he wished it.

Like the governor, the chief factor maintained a sort of medieval state at his fort, and in his travels through his department, but it was for a purpose. It had a favorable effect on the Indians, and the employees of the Company felt that the display made was in a way an evidence of their own superiority. The kilted guard who kept the gate, or attended at the doctor's door, and the highland piper in his tartans, who strode up and down the great dining hall at meal time, discoursing music for their entertainment, were part of a display maintained for them as well as for the Company. The doctor himself sat at the head of the table, with his chiefs and clerks ranged about him, in the order of their several ranks in the Company's service, and at such a board it was an honor to have a place even below the salt.

And the chief factor knew how to unbend too, when occasion permitted. When Michael La Framboise assembled the brigade which went on horseback every spring, up the Willamette and across the mountains to California, the doctor, accompanied by his wife and daughter, usually rode with it, if the weather favored, for fifty or a hundred miles, to see it well started on its journey. This brigade was made up of trappers and packers, most of whom had native wives, who traveled with them. Arrayed in bright colors, mounted upon ponies which were gaily caparisoned with beaded trappings, and with silver bells at their bridles, these women made a picturesque feature of these wild traveling parties. Each had an easy saddle in which she sat astride, with her children comfortably bestowed in baskets like supports before and behind her, and although thus burdened she galloped at her husband's side, or skurried away across

some open glade in the forest, as wild and free as if she had no responsibilities. It flattered these half-savage sons of the forest to have the doctor thus send them off for their year of lonely work, and when he parted from them each was ready to do his best for the profit of the year's business.

Sometimes, though not often, a sterner policy was required. Some Indian tribe perhaps forgot that it was forbidden to make reprisals on its neighbors, as it had been accustomed to do, if strong enough, or thought itself so far away from the doctor's stronghold that it might venture to plunder a lonely trapper, or trader, and set the Company's authority at defiance. Then Tom McKay took the lead, and the riflemen assigned to his command went as readily and promptly to their work as if sent on some holiday excursion. A show of force was usually sufficient for the suppression of disorder, when measures were promptly taken, as they always were. Before others could think the doctor acted, and the turbulent element had nothing to do but acquiesce. So in a comparatively short time after he had taken charge the Indians respected him, his subordinates trusted him and no one questioned his authority.

John McLoughlin was born at Rivière du Loup, on the banks of the St. Lawrence in the province of Quebec, in the year 1784. He is supposed to have been of Scotch parentage, though some think he may have been Irish, or of mixed Irish and French blood. The burden of authority, however, seems to be that his father was an Irishman, and his mother was related to the Frasers, who were famous among the partners in the old Northwest Company.

While still a youth his father was drowned, and his widowed mother took her two sons, David and John, to the home of

her father on the St. Lawrence, and later sent them to England to be educated. There both studied medicine, and David the elder entered the English army as surgeon, serving in the wars against Napoleon until that great warrior was overthrown. The younger doctor did not incline to that service, particularly at that time, as he is said to have admired Napoleon too much, and he accordingly returned to Canada.

He was still a young man when he entered the service of the Northwest Fur Company, as a surgeon, and was stationed for a considerable time at Sault Ste. Marie, and then at Fort William, the main emporium of the Company, on the north bank of Lake Superior. Here he was brought into contact with, and became the intimate friend and associate of, Sir Alexander MacKenzie, the great explorer, and one of the most prominent and influential men in the Company, as well as with nearly all its other chiefs. He was with the chief factor of Fort William and some others on Lake Superior, when their boat was overturned and all the members of the party, save himself, were drowned. He had then been in the service several years, and although not charged with any duty in connection with the direction of its business, he had come to know much about it. At the great annual gatherings of partners, chief factors and traders, then regularly held at Fort William, he listened attentively while the affairs and interests of the Company were discussed. Many of those who regularly wintered at remote points in the interior remained for a considerable time in summer at or near headquarters, and from these he obtained much information of value as to the details of their employment. Each brought with him a party of voyageurs, to direct his canoe along the rivers, and across the portages of his long journey, together

with hunters, trappers and laborers, whose terms of service had expired, and who now availed themselves of this opportunity to return to civilization. These formed a camp outside the fort, and usually spent their time and money in riotous living, and were then forced by necessity to return again to their old employment. From these, as well as from those who held more exalted stations in the trade, the doctor learned something that did not come amiss in after life.

When the business of the assembly was concluded, as it invariably was, by a banquet in the grand dining hall, from whose lofty walls portraits of the more celebrated figures in the Company's brief history looked down upon the well loaded tables and the sturdy banqueters, the doctor was a conspicuous figure, and more and more conspicuous each succeeding year, since he was the only one who did not, for the time being, throw his dignity to the winds and join in the general revelry.

The post of chief factor at this important station became vacant by death, at a time when the struggle with the Hudson's Bay people was making alarming inroads on the income of both companies. There was need to find a new man for the place who was generally acquainted among the other factors and traders, knew something of the difficulties and dangers with which each had to contend, and whose counsel could be relied upon in the general direction of the business. McLoughlin was chosen. The part he bore in the exciting events which characterized the last years of the separate existence of the two companies, it is not necessary to describe. It is sufficient here to say that his management was so successful as to recommend him to the notice of the new governor, and to secure his appointment to a post of far greater responsibility.

While in charge of Fort William he met the widow of Alexander McKay, who had come to the coast with the first Astor party, and been killed by the Indians in the attack on the Tonquin. She was the daughter of a Scotch father and an Indian mother, and had been born in the Cumberland district of Manitoba. As a girl she had met and married McKay, just after he had returned from that long trip to the Pacific Coast with Alexander MacKenzie in 1793. When he had parted from her in 1811, to go to Montreal on business for the Company, he took with him their son Tom, then a lad of fourteen, and had no thought that he should never return. But at Montreal he was offered a partnership in the Pacific Fur Company, which Astor was then forming, and this proved so tempting that he joined it. There was no time to go back to the fort and take leave of wife and mother, so father and son started on their long voyage to the Columbia. The father never returned, and the boy was not to see his mother again until she should come to him a dozen years later as the wife of another great factor in the Company, who would be a father to him.

The doctor, accompanied by his wife, her daughter and a considerable party, made the long journey to the coast in 1824. They came by canoe along the rivers and across the portages, by the route and means employed by the trappers and fur traders, and crossed the mountains at or near the place where MacKenzie and Fraser had crossed them thirty years earlier. On reaching Astoria a new order of things was soon begun. The weak and incompetent management of Keith was quickly replaced by one full of energy and vitality. The vagabonds who had invaded and now infested the country, making trouble with the Indians, were compelled to leave it, and discipline was restored among the employees,

and the Indians were, in various cases and as occasion offered, given to understand that a man had now come to rule among them who would be master.

McLoughlin soon perceived that Fort George, as Astoria was now called, was not an advantageous location for the headquarters of the Company. It was not conveniently reached either from the interior posts, or by most of the Indians with whom it was desirable to establish trade relations. There was comparatively little ground in its neighborhood that was desirable for cultivation. It would be better for every reason to establish new headquarters as far up the river as ships could conveniently go to receive their cargoes of furs, and other goods that would annually be sent to England, and to unload the supplies required by the stations for the subsistence of their employees, and for trade with the Indians. Accordingly, after exploring the banks of the river on both sides, a beautiful site was selected on the north bank, not far from the confluence of the Willamette. Probably the north bank was chosen because it was then confidently believed that in the final division of the country, if it ever were divided, England would surely retain that side. But there were other considerations in its favor. It commanded a fine view of the river in both directions, and could be easily reached from the Willamette. There was an abundance of good agricultural and grazing land in its neighborhood that could, without great difficulty, be brought under subjection. It sloped toward the south and would be earliest warmed by the sun, and most safely sheltered from the cold north winds. It was a beautiful place—commanding a grand view of the mountains toward the east and south, with Mount Hood covered by perpetual snow on the left, while the broad expanse of the Willamette Valley lay before it.

In a military point of view it could be easily defended from any attack by savages, and was so far from the ocean that a hostile fleet, if it should ever come, need hardly be dreaded.

So a space four hundred and fifty feet by seven hundred was cleared and enclosed by a palisade twenty feet high, and defended by a bastion at one corner. Within this enclosure was the house for the chief factor, with a brass cannon in front, flanked by a pile of cannon balls on either side. Here also were shops and store houses, a dormitory for the clerks and other employees, and a big dining hall in which all the male members of the little community were seated at a common table. In front of this dining hall, on a tower made of four strong poles, and sheltered by a roof from the weather, hung the bell about the size of that of a village church, which summoned the men to their meals. Nearby was a sort of club room known as bachelor's hall, where in after times the clerks and visitors, and the traders and factors, when they came to the fort, might read and talk and smoke.

Gradually the forest was cleared away from a large area surrounding the fort; a garden was planted and a farm and an orchard were established. In March 1825, when the buildings had so far advanced that the headquarters could be removed to them, potatoes were planted and two bushels of peas were sown. These were the only varieties of food products for which the little community had seed at that time. In the fall it received from York factory on the Hudson's Bay, probably at McLoughlin's request, a bushel of spring wheat, a bushel of oats, a bushel of barley, a bushel of Indian corn and a quart of timothy seed, all of which were sown in proper time and all did well except the corn. All

that was raised from this planting for that and the succeeding years until 1828, was saved and replanted. In the latter year Dr. McLoughlin says, "Its growth was sufficient to enable us to dispense with the importation of flour, etc."

In 1825 the Company had at the fort twenty-seven head of cattle, large and small. These were the animals which had been sent out by the Northwest Company for the use of the colony, and their increase. It was expensive to get cattle by ships, and in those days it was not known that there was any other way in which they would be obtained. The doctor therefore determined that no cattle should be killed for the use of the fort, except one bull calf every year for rennet, until he had ample stock on hand to meet all demands, and he so strictly adhered to this resolution that no animals were killed for beef until 1838. In the meantime, for nearly or quite thirteen years, the tables were supplied with fresh and salted venison and wild fowl.

Having removed to the new headquarters the doctor's greatest concern was to organize the territory, and establish a recognized authority among the Indians. The first step was to reestablish and repair the old posts of the Astor company and the Northwesters, and build new ones. The next was to extend the business of the Company among the Indians far and near, and to interest them in collecting furs, and so firmly establish the Company's relations with, and influence over, them as to be able to shut out all possible competition, and bring every interest in all the vast territory which had been given under his charge, into direct dependence upon his own authority.

He first turned his attention to the far North. He had brought with him across the mountains a much younger man

than himself who was already his friend, and who was afterwards to become famous as his successor. This was James Douglas, who had entered the service of the Northwest Company about ten years earlier, and had already distinguished himself as a man of courage, enterprise and sound judgment. He had induced this young man to follow him to his new department, promising to give him abundant opportunity for the exercise of his abilities. He now assigned to him the supervision of the posts which Fraser and the old Northwesters had established in New Caledonia, on McLeod Lake, Fraser Lake, Lake Stuart, and at the mouth of Fraser and Stuart rivers, and gave him authority to establish other posts, as in his judgment they should seem desirable. In 1828 the old fort at Spokane was removed to Kettle Falls and named Fort Colville,* in honor of Andrew Colville, one of the London officers of the Company. In 1826 Fort Connolly was built on Bear Lake. This post was named in honor of the trader who was placed in charge of it, whose daughter Douglas afterwards married. It was while building this fort that the young superintendent first met and became acquainted with Nellie Connolly, who was then but a girl in her teens. His attentions to her at this time, and on subsequent visits, were agreeable to herself and to her father, and the young lady thus met, in this lonely region, subsequently became Lady Douglas, wife of Sir James, the governor of British Columbia.

The first brigade, as the expedition was called, which was sent out annually from headquarters, carrying supplies to the subposts and bringing back at the end of the season the furs which they had collected, was sent to Fort Colville and the far north in 1826. It took with it a few live pigs, to be

* Now spelled Colville, though the true spelling is as above.

left at Colville and some of the other stations, in pursuance of McLoughlin's plan to establish stock raising and agriculture at the subposts, and so enable them to produce their own supplies. These animals were transported with no little difficulty, as the Indians who were employed to assist the traders in navigating their canoes, could not understand why they should be taken alive. This brigade was under the direction of Kitson and John Work. At Fort Walla Walla they abandoned their boats, procured horses and made their way directly across the country to Colville. Here Work separated from the company, and went among the Kalispels, where he spent some time in trading, teaching them to trap, and in other ways encouraging them to become patrons of the Company. Other trappers were distributed, in the same way, to establish friendly relations among other tribes, and so show them how they could procure blankets, beads and other articles which they considered valuable, in exchange for furs.

In December 1826 a party was sent north to explore Fraser River from its mouth upward to a point suitable for establishing a fort. This party went down the Columbia, thence across the portage to Shoalwater Bay and then by way of Gray's Harbor and the Chehalis River to the Sound. It established Fort Langley, the first post planted by the Hudson's Bay Company near the coast in British Columbia. In succeeding years, forts McLoughlin and Simpson were established still further north, and near the coast and in 1833, Fort Nisqually was begun at the southern extremity of Puget Sound. At first this latter post may have been intended to be only a fur trading station like the other forts, but it was destined to become the headquarters of a business so foreign to that of a mere fur trading concern, as to require the

formation of a subsidiary company for its control. It was also to have a part in the history of Washington that should be equal to, if not more important than, that of Fort Vancouver itself.

In the spring of 1827, the schooner *Cadborough* came to the coast. She was of seventy-two tons burden, had been built in England the year before, and became a useful and famous craft in the history of the coast, in her time. She came to Fort Vancouver under command of Captain John P. Swan, her crew and passengers numbering thirty men. She was afterwards commanded by Emilius Simpson, and after his time by Sinclair, Ryan, Brothie, and finally by James Scarborough, for whom the hill near Chinook Village, on the north side of the Columbia, was named.

Trading posts were gradually established on the Willamette and in the valley of the Umpqua. The valley of the Snake was not neglected. This was the most dangerous of all the trapping country, as it was often raided by the Blackfeet, with whom the Nez Percés and Shoshones were nearly always at war. They were also troubled with the Crows, who had so much annoyed the Astor party. In some of the wars among these famous tribes, or while they had been in progress, the three Kentuckians, Robinson, Hoback, and Rizner, who had been met by Hunt's party on the Missouri, and had returned with him to the abandoned fort, which Henry had built on Henry's River, were killed, and all the other hunters and trappers who had come out with the Astor party had long since either been murdered or driven out of the country. Gradually, however, the Hudson's Bay brigade, under the lead of Tom McKay, Mrs. McLoughlin's son, had gained access to the country and established trade there. Here they were soon to meet American trappers

who, in spite of the warlike character of the Indians, invaded the country and by marrying Indian women, managed to remain in it. Their numbers increased until, according to Dr. McLoughlin's estimate, there was as many at one time as five hundred of these independent trappers, who depended on the Hudson's Bay brigade for their annual supplies.

By the year 1828, when the treaty of joint occupation between Great Britain and the United States was renewed, the entire fur-bearing district of the Pacific Coast had been organized. The Company's brigades annually penetrated to the headwaters of the Snake and Columbia and Clark's Fork. Another went up the Willamette and crossed the Siskiyou Mountains into California, while the Cadborough traded along the coast and supplied Fort Langley and the Russian trading posts at New Archangel. Another schooner named the Vancouver was built by the Company. She proved a very poor sailer, and after a brief existence was wrecked on Queen Charlotte's Island. When Governor Simpson examined into the business of the Company with the Russian stations, on the occasion of his visit to the coast in 1828, he found that the trade annually amounted to 10,000 seal skins, 1,000 otters, 12,000 beaver, 25,000 land otters, foxes and martens, and 20,000 walrus teeth.

To manage and control the Indians, of whom there were supposed to be more than a hundred thousand in his department, was an important and difficult part of the doctor's duty. They were of many tribes, spoke many languages, and differed from each other in nature and disposition. Some were almost constantly at war with the others, or with tribes whose homes were beyond the boundaries of the department. Some were disposed to be friendly and some to be

hostile, and all were suspicious and distrustful. To deal with them by rule and line was not always possible, though the Company had provided rule and line for his guidance. In its long experience certain things had been found to be true, and certain regulations had been formed in consequence, for the direction of factors and traders in their relations with these people. For example it had been found best to have fixed prices for all goods, and to pay fixed prices for particular kinds and grades of peltries; to keep faith when faith was pledged; to permit no pilfering; to exact reparation for all offences against the rights of persons and property, even the smallest. All these regulations the doctor respected and enforced, but he did something more. He studied the Indian character, his habits, superstitions, modes of thought, so far as he thought at all, and particularly those rules of action which had existed among them for so long a time that the memory of no Indian ran to the contrary. He thus prepared himself to act promptly and decisively in emergencies, a preparation that is peculiarly valuable in dealing with a people who never act promptly or decisively themselves. For this reason he was nearly always successful, and dangers that seemed formidable at the time, were frequently met or averted by very simple means.

At one time it became desirable to move a small trading station that had been established at the Cascades, to Walla Walla, as the business done was not sufficient to justify its continuance. The Indians at the Cascades and the Dalles objected to its removal, and supposing they could intimidate the doctor by a show of force, or perhaps capture his fort and take control of its business themselves, they assembled a great war party and started down the river in many canoes. The doctor had timely notice of their coming

and sent for his staunch friend, Old Kesano, chief of the Multnomah's, to come with his warriors to his assistance. They came, were fed and concealed in a ravine near the fort when the war flotilla came in sight. Dr. W. C. McKay, son of Tom, and grandson of Mrs. McLoughlin, who was then three or four years old, saw and remembered them long afterwards. There seemed to be a hundred canoes, he said, and as they neared the fort they formed a line which reached nearly across the river. As they advanced, beating the gun-wales of their canoes in rhythm with their paddles, they looked formidable enough.

But it was late in the afternoon when they appeared, and they seem to have thought it wise to defer their attack until the following day. Perhaps their hearts failed them, or possibly they preferred a night attack. Whatever their plan was they did not enter upon it immediately, but on arriving opposite the fort the line wheeled in regular order and made for the southern shore, where camp was made. There they heard the evening gun fired from the bastion, and they heard another in the morning. This may have shaken their courage, or it may be that Kesano and some of his followers visited their camps during the night, as they might have done, for they were on friendly terms, and told them what terrible things those cannon were. At any rate on the following morning, instead of venturing to attack, they sent a party in three or four boats across the river for a parley. They were permitted to land, but only three of the chiefs were allowed to enter the fort. At the gate, which was opened to receive them, and then closed again and locked, they saw a big Scotch highlander, in kilts, armed and plumed and looking terribly fierce and dangerous. But he did not speak to them, nor take more note of them than as if they

had been so many children. They were shown into the great waiting room, whose walls were decorated in wild backwoods fashion, with trophies of the chase, and not a few rifles, and broadswords. Here another tall highlander in kilt and tartan was marching up and down skirling his bagpipes. Like the other he wholly ignored their presence, and no doubt seemed to them to be making a very great and powerful medicine.

They were kept waiting in this majestic presence for nearly an hour, before the doctor appeared. When he came in at last he seemed taller and stronger than the piper, and was so thoroughly at his ease that it was evident their grand display of the previous evening had not at all alarmed him. He made no show of soldiers, as they would have done, to impress him, if he had come to parley with them, but they could not doubt that he had plenty of resource near at hand. And then the terrible cannon they had heard, and that still more terrible medicine the piper had been making, the stout walls of the fort, the inside and outside of which they had now seen, were convincing evidence that this tall man with long white hair falling down to his shoulders, who was old and still young, commanded a power that they could never resist. They were ready to accept whatever he had to offer, and be glad they had tempted him no further. He was not harsh with them. He talked to them even in a kindly way, but he told them what they must do, and they were glad to do it, and thereafter made the company very little trouble.

All the Indians held firmly to the opinion that the land and everything on or about it was theirs, and while many things had no value to them, when they saw the white people using them they would demand pay for them. The Company's ships

ASTORIA ABOUT 1840.

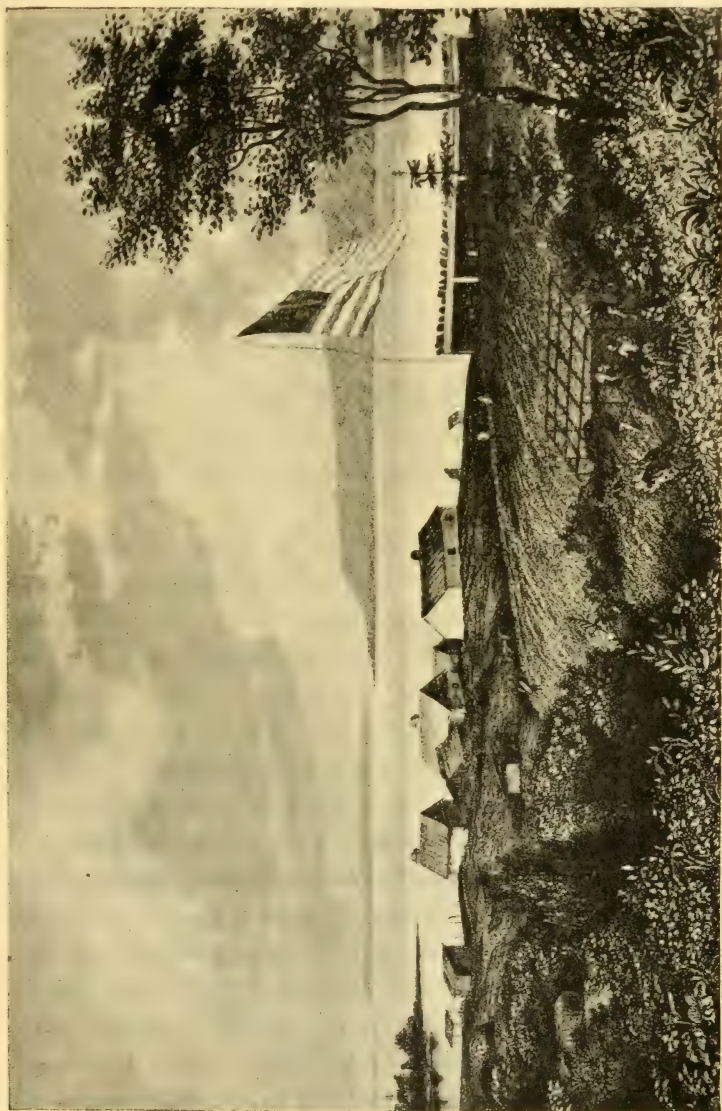
The trading post as it was near the close of the Hudson's Bay control.



had been many children. They were shown into the great
 meeting room, where walls were adorned with wild bull woods
 pictures and trophies of the chase, and not a few rifles
 and muskets. There another tall highlander in kilt
 and sporran was standing up and down, filling his bagpipes.
 When he asked he gladly accepted their presence, and no
 more seemed to them to be making a very great and power-
 ful impression.

They were now standing in this majestic presence for nearly
 an hour, when the doctor appeared. When he came in at
 last he seemed taller and stronger than the piper, and was
 so thoroughly so he said that it was evident their grand dis-
 play of the porridge eating had not at all alarmed him.
 He made no show of soldiers, as they would have done, or
 surpass him. If he had went to parley with them, but they
 could not doubt that he had plenty of numbers near at
 hand. And then the terrible giants they had heard, and
 that still more terrible monster the piper had been making,
 the great walls of the hall, the inside and outside of which
 they had not seen, were so convincing evidence that this tall
 man, with long white hair falling down on his shoulders,
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The soldiers held firmly to the opinion that the land and
 everything on it above it was theirs, and while many things
 had been taken from them, when they saw the whole people using
 their land, they would pay for them. The Company's ships



frequently made use of the gravel and boulders lying along the river bank for ballast, and seeing this some Indians, finding the doctor on the shore where ballast was being taken on board, demanded pay for it. They supposed no doubt that some use was being made of these stones, somewhere, that they did not understand. It was useless to try to explain; to make the attempt and fail to satisfy them would have a bad effect—might and doubtless would be remembered when some affair of far greater importance was to be dealt with. Picking up one of the stones the doctor offered it to the spokesman of the party, saying, "Eat this." He was answered. There was nothing further to be said. Even an Indian could understand that a thing that had no value could not be paid for.

During the year 1829 an epidemic, supposed to be the ague, broke out among the Indians along the Columbia, and for the three or four years succeeding raged with peculiar virulence. It is reported to have been more fatal among many of the tribes than even the smallpox had been. During the first summer after the disease appeared in some of the villages there were not enough living left to bury the dead. Those not already afflicted fled to the seacoast, abandoning the dead and dying to the birds and beasts of prey. Some of the villages were entirely deserted. Canoes were drawn up on the shore, fishing nets were left where they had been spread upon the trees to dry, and all the houses were left tenantless. The dogs were left, but no other living thing gave evidence that the place had ever been inhabited. The pestilence spread from the Columbia in every direction, as far north as the straits of Fuca, and as far south as California. Nearly all the tribes were afflicted with it, and in many cases it is said more than half of their numbers died. The Indians

who were prone to seek for some mysterious reason for every calamity, and remembering perhaps the boast of McDougal, that he could control the smallpox—retain it in a phial or let it loose among them as he wished—thought that the captain of the brig Owyhee, which had appeared in the river that summer and been unsuccessful in trade, had let the epidemic loose among them in revenge for his failure. He had poisoned the water, they said, by pouring bad medicine into the river. As the Owyhee was an American ship, and as McDougal had been in the employ of the Astor company when he made his foolish threat to the chiefs of the Clatsops and Chinooks, just after the calamity to the Tonquin, the Indians readily attributed this second and most terrible calamity to the Americans.

During all the years while the disease prevailed, Dr. McLoughlin was unremitting in his attentions to all the Indians in the neighborhood who needed his services. There was no other doctor at the fort and he was therefore frequently called upon to prescribe and supply medicines. Every call upon him was heeded, and quinine and such other remedies as were at hand, were supplied to all who had need for them, and were frequently sent to many who were not able to come to the fort. As nearly all the sick, or those reached, were relieved if not cured, his fame spread far and wide as a great and good medicine man, and his success increased and maintained respect for him.

When it became necessary to resort to severe measures, to punish theft or to bring some murderer to justice as it frequently was, the doctor always took care that the means employed should be effective. No crime was allowed to go unpunished. Murderers must be given up, and stolen goods returned, and this regulation was strictly enforced, even when

the value of the thing stolen was small. In the case of more serious offences, more thorough preparation was made, to make the punishment both certain and sufficient, and as it was not always possible to find means for doing this at the fort, the doctor managed to make the Indians inflict punishment on each other.

In 1828 Jedediah Smith led a party of trappers across the country from Green River to California, and thence northward across the Siskious to the valley of the Umpqua. They were probably the first American trappers to invade western Oregon, although Samuel Adams Ruddock is reported to have led a party up the Platte to the eastern foothills of the mountains, where he turned south and went to Santa Fe. Then crossing the range he took a northwesterly course to Lake Timpanogos, as the Great Salt Lake is supposed to have been called at one time, and thence on to the Willamette and the Columbia. This was in 1821, and the story of the journey, which is said to have been accomplished in seventy-nine days, was at one time received with sufficient confidence to gain for it a place in a report made by a committee of Congress a few years later, though it has since been very much doubted.

While Smith's party were in camp on the Umpqua an Indian stole their ax, and as it was the only one they had, they took the chief of the nearest tribe prisoner, and their ax was returned. The next morning Smith, with two men and an Indian, left the camp in a canoe to explore the river, and while he was absent the remainder of the party were attacked and all but one of their number murdered. This one, a man named Black, made his way, after many days of wandering, to Fort Vancouver, which he reached when nearly starved and exhausted. On learning his story Dr.

McLoughlin took prompt action. He says: "I sent Indian runners with tobacco to the Willamette chiefs to tell them to send their people in search of Smith and his two men, and if they found them to bring them to the fort and I would pay them, and telling them if any Indians hurt these men we would punish them, and immediately equipped a strong party of forty well-armed men. But as the men were embarking, to our great joy, Smith and his two men arrived.

"I then arranged as strong a party as I could make to recover all we could of Smith's property. I divulged my plan to none, but gave written instructions to the officers, to be opened only when they got to the Umpqua, because if known before they got there the officers would talk of it among themselves, the men would hear it, and from them it would go to their Indian wives, who were spies on us, and my plan would be defeated. The plan was that the officer was, as usual, to invite the Indians to bring their furs to trade, just as if nothing had happened, count the furs, but as the American trappers mark all their skins, keep these all separate, give them to Mr. Smith and not pay the Indians for them, telling them that they belonged to him; that they got them by murdering Smith's people.

"They denied having murdered Smith's people, but admitted they bought them of the murderers. The officers told them they must look to the murderers for payment, which they did; and as the murderers would not restore the property they had received, a war was kindled among them, and the murderers were punished more severely than we could have done, and which Mr. Smith himself admitted, and to be much preferable to going to war on them as we could not distinguish the innocent from the guilty, who, if they chose, might fly to the mountains, where we could not find

them. In this way we recovered property for Mr. Smith to the amount of \$3,200 without any expense to him, and which was done from a principle of Christian duty, and as a lesson to the Indians to show them they could not wrong the whites with impunity."

In March 1829, the Hudson's Bay barque William and Ann was wrecked at the mouth of the Columbia and all her crew perished. Most of her cargo was washed ashore, and taken possession of by the Indians. The barque was accompanied by the schooner Convoy, of Boston, which safely entered the river and proceeded up to the fort with news of the wreck. A company was immediately sent to the Clatsop village, on the south bank of the river, near Point Adams, to recover the goods, but its demand for them was denied. The Indians claimed that whatever the sea brought them, belonged to them, and they therefore asserted their rights under the Indian law. It is said that one of the young men impudently tendered an old broom, or some other worthless article, with a suggestion that it be taken to the doctor with a declaration that it was all that would be returned to him.

The party was not strong enough to enforce its demand, and accordingly returned to the fort. It was not until the brigade returned in the fall that the doctor could provide a force sufficient to punish the Clatsops. By that time it had been reported that a boat belonging to the wrecked ship, with its oars, had been found on the river bank, indicating that a part of the crew had come ashore and been murdered by the thieving Indians, although there was no proof that this was so, and the Indians afterwards insisted that the boat had been found unoccupied. The suspicion that murder, as well as robbery, had been committed called for the full assertion of the Company's authority. An armed schooner

was therefore sent down to the mouth of the river with a party strong enough to enforce a demand that the goods be returned, and if any of the crew had been murdered, for the surrender of the murderers. The village was attacked with cannon from the ship and by a land party sent to attack it in rear, but only one Indian was killed. Its occupants fled to the woods, leaving their houses and everything in them to their assailants. Nearly all the stolen goods were recovered.

It was never shown that any of the crew of the wrecked vessels had been murdered by these Indians, and therefore the attack on the village has been criticized as altogether unjustifiable. The schooner, it is claimed, would have been able to recover the goods, by making demand for them. It is not necessary to discuss the matter here. The incident had a good effect, as demonstrating to the Indians that they would not be permitted, under any circumstances, to rob the Company of its goods or defy its authority.

The year before the William and Ann was wrecked, four or five employees of the Company were murdered by the Clallam Indians, on the south shore of the Strait of Fuca. The Cadborough, with a small armed force, was sent to punish them, and the same plan of attack was followed as in the attack on the Clatsop village. But as the object of this attack was to inflict punishment, and not to recover stolen goods, it was far more vigorously made and with much more serious results. The party put on shore to attack the village in rear was under command of Chief Factor Alexander McLeod, and Francis Ermatinger was on board the ship. As soon as the land party were in position the guns of the ship began firing on the village, while McLeod and his party made a simultaneous attack. The Indians were

wholly taken by surprise and many of them were killed, but whether the real murderers suffered or not was never known.*

The power of the Company was so great that the Indians, numerous as they were, but separated into many tribes and incapable of acting in unison, were powerless in its presence. The country which they had once ruled, they could rule no longer, and no considerable number of them thought it worth while to oppose the new order of things. Nor were they insensible to the benefits which they might acquire by yielding peaceably to what was demanded of them. They accordingly became gradually more and more dependent on the Company. They gave up their old clothing of skins, and substituted the gaudily colored, though less serviceable goods which were offered in exchange for their furs. Beads rather than shells, became the universal currency, and with these the women could work ornaments for their moccasins and other parts of their wearing apparel, that far outshone the shells which they had been accustomed to use in earlier times. An absolute dependence was thus easily brought about by the one man who knew how to maintain, at the same time, perfect fidelity and unwavering authority.

But in addition to organizing the fur trade, and controlling the Indians, McLoughlin early began to do other things to extend and increase the business of the Company, and some of them were to have a far-reaching influence in hastening the advance of civilization and developing the resources of the country. He early observed the marvelous fertility of the soil, and that the climate was unusually favorable to the cultivation of a large variety of those food products upon

* Journal of Francis Ermatinger, as quoted by Bryce in "The Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company."

which the human family so largely depends for its subsistence. From the bank of the lordly river, in front of his fastness at Vancouver, he could look far out over the Willamette Valley, one of the most fertile spots on the earth's surface. In his travels up and down the Columbia, along the Cowlitz, down the Chehalis, and over the placid waters of Puget Sound, he had seen a region in which a generous nature produced a marvelous variety of tree, shrub, and flower and wild fruits, and many plants which formed a large part of the subsistence of a considerable native population. The river and all the smaller streams flowing toward the ocean were, at certain seasons, thronged with salmon. The woods abounded in game, and the hillsides, as well as valley and mountain, offered abundant pasturage for domestic animals. It only required the application of man's intelligence and labor to change this prodigal luxuriance into something useful and profitable.

While he was still a young man and a student, Thomas Malthus had published his famous essay on the principles of population, in which he had reached the startling conclusion that the people who inhabit this planet were increasing in numbers so rapidly that it would soon be impossible for them to find food, and unless something were done to restrain the increase, the human family must soon confront starvation with no possible hope of avoiding it. This essay had attracted very general attention, during the first decade of the nineteenth century, been widely discussed and several times republished. It is hardly possible that it had escaped the doctor's notice, although it is not known that he ever read it. It is, however, more than likely that he had done so, and if so, its gloomy reasoning must have seemed absurd to him in the presence of so much fertility. Everywhere

about him nature was lavishing a bounty that appealed only to the eye, it was true, but would in an equally generous way under cultivation produce all that is needed to sustain life. The starving millions, or the millions who must confront starvation, if they did not immediately resist the impulses of nature, knew nothing of the abundance of this garden spot. They were as ignorant of the possibilities of the broad valleys of the Willamette, the Cowlitz and Chehalis, and all the other valleys in western Oregon and Washington, as the doctor himself probably was at that time of those which lie along the upper tributaries of the Columbia, and to the eye of the uninformed have a less inviting look. These fertile valleys, and almost equally fertile hillsides, should confute the gloomy philosopher and send a message of hope to a desponding world.

From the beginning the farms and gardens at the fort were increased and extended year by year. That the chief factor had a well defined purpose in saving all the grain raised each year, to be used as seed for the next, and refraining from the use of beef, so that the increase of his herd of cattle might not be restrained or retarded by any means that it was possible to avoid, there can be no doubt. It was no part of the business of the Company to grow grain or vegetables, or raise cattle. What its factors did in this line, in Rupert's Land, or any other part of the country east of the mountains, they did entirely for their own convenience, and comfort. The governor and the directors of the Company took no interest in, and gave themselves but little concern about, the chief factor's farming, gardening and stock-raising enterprises. In a letter written by Archibald McDonald from Fort Langley in January 1831 to John McLeod, then in the neighborhood of the Company's headquarters, he speaks of

the "contempt entertained for everything out of the routine of beaver, at York factory,"* and doubtless all the enterprises outside of the routine of beaver, were held in similar estimation in Fenchurch Street.

The directors no doubt realized that something might be provided in this way to help supply the Russian stations. They certainly knew that Mr. Astor had planned to do something of this kind, and they also knew that what Mr. Astor planned to do was generally worth doing. But they do not seem to have thought the demand from these stations for such things as flour, or freshly cured beef, or for such other food products as might be grown on the Columbia, was likely to be great, or the trade in them very profitable, or they would have sent out more than one bushel each of wheat, oats, corn, and barley, and a quart of timothy seed, to set their farming operations going. It was a long way to send such things, from York factory on Hudson's Bay to Fort Vancouver on the Columbia; the transportation facilities were of the crudest kind. Swift rivers were to be ascended, long portages made, and a range of mountains to be crossed, after which other swift rivers were to be descended and many dangerous rapids passed. But labor was cheap, and their brigades were going and coming every year, and not always loaded to their full capacity. A few more of the ninety-pound packs into which all goods were made up for transportation, would have given the doctor's farming experiments as good a start at the beginning, as he was able to gain for them by several years of most prudent management.

The bustling governor, far away at York House, or forcing his way with eager haste from station to station through the vast, trackless wilderness, in which the Company's business

* Washington Historical Quarterly, July 1907.

was scattered, and the prudent and conservative directors in London, watching the constantly accumulating bales of furs in their warehouses change into steadily accumulating heaps of gold in their coffers, thought little of doing a business of any other kind, or in any other way than they, and their predecessors before them, had been doing it for a hundred and sixty years and more. Their business was the fur business. It was to gather the skins of fur-bearing animals—to get them at as little cost and sell them at as great a profit as the times permitted, that their monopoly had been chartered. *Pro pelle cutem*—the motto on their seal, the eternal maxim of their corporate existence—was stamped on their every corporate act and thought. “Skin for skin, yea all that a man hath.” From long habit they had come to regard themselves as being not only entitled to every effort their employees could make in their service, but to have it directed to the increase of the particular business in which they had so long engaged. The growing of grain, fruit and vegetables, and the raising of hogs and cattle were too likely to be carried on for the comfort and convenience of factors, traders and other employees, who ought to be able to live, as their predecessors had lived, and as other factors and traders at other less favored stations were still living, on what their traps and their rifles brought to them, and it is doing the governor and his directors no injustice to say that they had come to think that “skin for skin” required that some part of the lining of the stomach should also be sacrificed in the fight for peltries—if they were not called on to make the sacrifice themselves.

But their chief factor on the Columbia saw further and more clearly into the future than they did. He also understood the present better. He realized that he was in a

country that was claimed by two governments, and that a time must inevitably come when one of them would require undisputed possession. Which would finally prevail it was for some years not possible to guess, but he has himself told us that in 1825 the Company had officially informed him that in no event could the British claim extend south of the Columbia. In the negotiations had during the preceding year, the British plenipotentiaries had formally proposed to accept the Columbia as the boundary, and although this proposition had not been accepted by the United States, it was made reasonably certain that Great Britain would not thereafter make any very vigorous claim for the country south of it, unless conditions should materially change.

But Dr. McLoughlin evidently saw that either country might materially strengthen its claim to this disputed territory by making actual settlements in it; he realized its wonderful fertility and its vast natural wealth, and knew full well that when these came to be more generally appreciated than they then were, that one country or the other would begin to take possession by its settlers. "Wherever wheat grows," he said to Etienne Lucier in 1828, "you may depend it will become a farming country." When farmers began to arrive, whether from England, Canada, or the United States, the fur business would begin to decline. Once they began to come it was probable that others would rapidly follow. The decline of the fur business would therefore be rapid, or at least might be so, and therefore he would have something ready to replace it that would be as profitable as possible. As chief factor, he was a sharer in the Company's profits; as a British subject he naturally had a patriotic interest in strengthening the British claim to the country which he now in reality governed, as the sole representative

of British authority. He therefore had a twofold reason for doing all that he did as farmer, gardener and stock grower; as a builder and operator of saw mills and flour mills, and in finding markets for all his surplus produce of every sort, as he did, not only in the Russian possessions to the north, but in the Spanish possessions to the south and with the Hawaiian Islands.

Owing to the lack of interest which the governor and directors of the Company took in these enterprises, he was a long time in getting them started. Notwithstanding all his prudence and self-denial it was not until 1828 that the crop raised was sufficient to permit him to use a part of it to supply his own tables, and to stop importing such necessities as flour and beef. It was in that year that Jedediah Smith was at the fort, and we may gain some idea of the number of people the doctor then had to provide for, from Smith's letter, subsequently written to the secretary of war, in which he says that the crop grown the year previous had "amounted to seven hundred bushels of wheat,—the grain full and making good flour,—fourteen acres of corn, the same number of acres of peas, eight acres of oats, four or five of barley and a fine garden, with some small apple trees, and grape vines." There were also on the Company farms "about two hundred head of cattle, fifty-two horses and breeding mares, three hundred head of hogs, fourteen goats, with the usual domestic fowls." John Ball, the schoolmaster who was one of Wyeth's party, says the crop in 1832 was "twelve thousand bushels of wheat, and a great quantity of barley, peas and potatoes." Mrs. Whitman and Mrs. Spalding, who were at Fort Vancouver in 1836, speak admiringly in their letters of the garden and orchard they found there, and Rev. H. H. Spalding, in a letter written

in September 1837, and published in the *Missionary Herald* the following year, says that thirty-five hundred bushels of wheat were grown that year at Fort Colvile. When Governor Simpson, now Sir George, visited the Columbia in 1841, on the occasion of his famous trip around the world, he found a thousand acres under cultivation in the Cowlitz Valley alone, "besides a large dairy, and an extensive park for horses and stock." The crops for that season had amounted to "eight or nine thousand bushels of wheat, four thousand of oats, with a due proportion of barley and potatoes." The station at Nisqually, which had been established in 1833, had been found to be better fitted for pasturage than for farming, and was then stocked with "six thousand sheep, twelve thousand cattle, besides a considerable number of horses, hogs and other domestic animals and fowls."

By that time the farming and stock-growing enterprises which the chief factor had set on foot, without encouragement or assistance from his superiors, had grown to be so large that a separate corporation had been formed to take control of them, as we shall hereafter see. The principal farms were in the Cowlitz Valley and at Colvile; the stock farm was at Nisqually. The grain grown at Colvile was used to supply the stations in the interior; the surplus grown in the Cowlitz was exported, and there was no lack of demand for it at any time. Chief Factor McLoughlin had evidently foreseen this demand. The governor and directors as evidently had not. There is no means of knowing, until access can be had to the correspondence, now securely filed away and covered with dust, in the files of the main office of the Company in London, what the views of either certainly were on the subject. But it was natural that the governor and directors, being far away and occupied with

many other matters, should fail to perceive or to comprehend certain things pertaining to the management of the great western division of their business, that were ever present to the chief factor's view. They had many fur trading stations, scattered over a vast region, in the greater part of which the climate was not favorable for cultivating the soil, and where their employees lived from year end to year end on the products of the chase and but little else. They expected no more, and got no more of such food stuffs as supply the tables of people living in a more favorable climate, than could be carried to them in canoes over many hundreds of miles of rapid rivers, and across long portages, or on the backs of pack animals through deep forests or over difficult mountain trails. It was but natural to suppose that all fur traders were willing to live as their own lived. If they thought about the Russian trade at all they presumably thought they could supply it as well by means of their ships direct from London as in any other way.

They had three ships exclusively employed in the trade with the Pacific Coast. These were the *Columbia*, the *Cowlitz* and the *Vancouver*,* and they were of about five hundred tons each. One of these was dispatched each year from London to Fort Vancouver, and was usually eight months on the way. After discharging her cargo of trading goods and supplies, she made a trip to the north to collect the year's catch of furs from the Russian stations, and to leave such supplies as were given in exchange for them, and then returned to Vancouver to take on the furs which had been collected there from all the interior stations. These had been brought in by the brigades, that were sent out each

*Another and smaller ship named *Vancouver* was built on the coast, but was employed only in local trade.

spring and returned in the fall. They left the fort in canoes, and went as far up the river as they could be paddled or poled, and then if need be the goods were packed on horse-back, or on men's shoulders to the remotest stations. The return journey was made in the same way, although it was much easier and more quickly made, as the water part of it was down stream, where the boats went with the current. The value of the furs thus collected and shipped each year is said to have been fully a million dollars.

The arrival of these ships was the event of the year at the fort, and their coming was watched for with the keenest interest. Besides the new goods, and such fresh supplies of clothing as the factors, traders and clerks could afford to have sent out to them, they brought a very limited line of supplies for the table, and more than all the annual mail—letters from home that had been eight months on the way, a file of the London Times, for the full year preceding, and some books and other reading matter, for the doctor and most of the clerks and traders were industrious readers, when time permitted, and in spite of their isolation managed to keep themselves fairly well posted about what was going on in the world, although the information they got was rather old when it reached them. But it was new to them and they were glad to get it.

The business of salting salmon for shipment to London was early begun. The first year after Fort Langley, on the Fraser, was established the trader in charge bought from the Indians, 7,544 salmon at a cost of less than a cent apiece. Four years later, when Archibald McDonald was in charge of that post, the pack for the season at that place alone, amounted to near three hundred barrels. Salmon were also caught in the Columbia in considerable quantity. These

were packed in barrels, made at the fort, and formed a considerable part of the cargo of each annual ship.

William Cannon, the millwright who came out with the first Astor party in the Tonquin, never left the country. When headquarters were removed from the mouth of the Columbia, he set up his bellows and anvil under the shade of a tree near the new fort, and rendered effective assistance in its erection. He made a big mortar in the top of a fir stump, in which wheat, peas and other material of the kind were pounded as fine as might be, with a heavy wooden pestle attached to a spring pole, and this was the first flour made in Washington. After the fort was completed he built a saw mill on the river near La Camas, power for which was furnished by an overshot water wheel. Some of the timber cut at this mill was sent to the Hawaiian Islands and to California in the Cadborough and Vancouver. Cannon's next enterprise was to build a flour mill. For this some machinery seems to have been brought out from London, though the burrs he made from some gigantic boulders which he managed to dress into proper shape for the purpose. This mill ground wheat but did not bolt it. In 1829 the doctor determined to take possession of the falls of the Willamette and build new and better mills there. He sent a small party of men to clear the ground and prepare the foundations, but the Indians raised some objection, and burned the huts they erected for their own shelter while employed there, but matters were soon arranged with them and the work was continued. It never prospered, however, and the enterprise thus begun was a source of unending sorrow and disappointment to the doctor while he lived. Years after his death Edward Ellice, one of the directors of the Company residing in London, in referring to the report that it was this

enterprise that cost the chief factor the confidence of the Company's directors, said: "Dr. McLoughlin was rather an amphibious and independent personage. He was a very able man, and I believe a very good man, but he had a fancy that he would like to have interests in both countries—both in the United States and English territory. . . . While he remained with the Hudson's Bay Company he was an excellent servant."* This remark very clearly shows that the ruling authorities of the Company failed to appreciate the value of what their chief factor was trying to do. Had they appreciated him more fully, and supported him more heartily, Oregon today might be British territory.

Down to 1829 all the farming and gardening done at the fort, or elsewhere, in Oregon, had been done by the Company, by the laborers it had brought from Canada, who were for the most part French Canadians, Scotchmen, and Orkneymen, who were engaged for a term of years at very low wages, and by Kanakas and Indians, when the Indians could be induced to work. There had been no thought of establishing settlers, either as independent farmers or as tenants of the Company. Anything of that kind would be in direct opposition to the Company's long established policy, which was to keep the country a great game preserve as long as possible. Quite likely the doctor's ever increasing agricultural enterprises would not have been so far approved or tolerated as they were, if it had not been for the trade with the Russians, and with the Hawaiians, and the mission stations in California, which were more gradually established. This trade was profitable, and promised to become more so, and it helped to extend the fur business along the whole length of the coast, as well as to strengthen the Company's

*Bryce's "The Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company."

hold on the country in various ways. Its trappers already went as far into California as they liked, and would go farther when supplies could be sent them by sea, and that could easily be done if trade with a few stations could be established along the coast. Farming, as the Company could carry it on to supply such a trade, would be less dangerous than if carried on by settlers. One or two large farms would not greatly interfere with the fur trade. The laborers would be under the absolute control of the Company, could be forbidden to hunt, and absolutely prohibited from interfering with the fur business, as they were, in every way. Settlers could not be controlled. A few of them might do more damage to the Company's great game preserve, than a thousand of its own servants, and if their numbers increased, as they would be likely to in a country so productive, the end of the fur business could be foreseen. Therefore settlers were not to be tolerated.

But the problem presented itself in a new form in 1829. Louis Labonte, one of the French Canadians who had come out with the Hunt party, and the one who would have died on the way out of the Snake River Valley if Hunt himself had not carried his pack for him, applied for his discharge in 1828. He had taken service with the Northwesters, after the sale to that Company, and had reëngaged with the Hudson's Bay Company, but he now wished to leave the service. He had married an Indian woman, and had a family of growing children, for whom he wished to make a home. But the Company did not permit its servants to remain in the country after their term of service had expired. Had they done so, many, perhaps most of them, would have gone with their wives to live with the Indians, and would have become worse than the Indians, for a little civilization, like a little

learning, is a dangerous thing. It almost invariably happened that where a white man was found living with the Indians, he was a vagabond, and a mischief maker, and more of a savage than the native savages. So the rule of the Company for a long time had been that all employees must be discharged only at the place where they had been employed. There was a statute also, requiring this to be done, and providing a penalty if it were not done.

Labonte was told of the rule and the penalty. "Very well," he said, "I was employed in Oregon and I will be discharged in Oregon." It was then necessary to construe the rule to mean that the employee must be returned to the place where he was originally employed, and Labonte could do nothing but submit. He went to Montreal with the express in the following year, got his discharge and returned. He was now a free man and could do as he pleased.

Meantime in the same year in which he had applied for his discharge Etienne Lucier, another of the Astor party, had asked the doctor if he thought Oregon would ever become a settled country. Lucier, like Labonte, had a native wife and a family of half-breed children, and was much attached to them. He had been brought up a Catholic, was getting old and was unwilling to die in a country where there were no priests and where his body could not be buried at last in consecrated ground. McLoughlin doubtless knew or divined the purpose of his inquiry, but he answered him frankly, and like the thoughtful man that he was, that wherever wheat would grow civilization would follow. "He asked me what assistance I could afford him to settle as a farmer," the doctor says in a memorandum found among his papers after his death. "I told him I would loan him seed to sow, and wheat to feed himself and family, to be

CINCOMLY'S GRAVE AT ASTORIA.

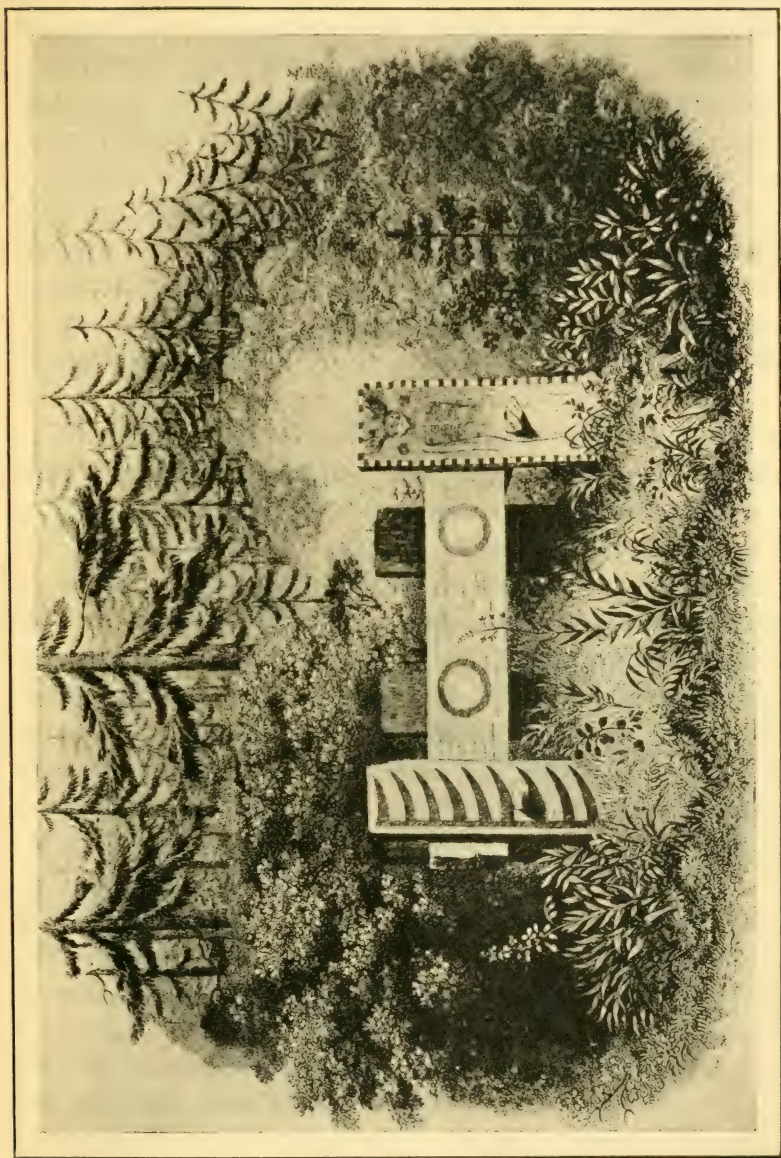
Cincomly was chief of the Chinooks, and a firm friend of the fur traders.



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returned from the produce of his farm, and sell him such implements as were in the Hudson's Bay Company's store at 50 per cent. on prime cost. But a few days after he came back and told me he thought there was too remote a prospect of this becoming a civilized country, and as there was no clergyman in the country, he asked me for a passage for his family in the Hudson's Bay Company's boats, to which I acceded. He started in September to meet the boats at the mountain; the express came in too late and he had to return, and went to hunt for the winter.

"In 1829, he again applied to begin to farm. I told him that since he had spoken to me I heard that several of the trappers would apply for assistance to begin to farm, and that it was necessary for me to come to a distinct understanding with him, to serve as a rule for those who might follow; that the Hudson's Bay Company were bound under heavy penalties to discharge none of their servants in the Indian country, and bound to return them to the place where they engaged them; that this was done to prevent vagabonds being let loose among the Indians, and incite them to hostility to the whites. But as I knew he was a good, honest man,—and none but such need apply,—and as, if he went to Canada and unfortunately died before his children could provide for themselves, they would become objects of pity, and a burden to others—for these reasons I would assist him to settle. But I must keep him and all the Hudson's Bay Company's servants whom I allowed to settle, on the Hudson's Bay Company's books as servants, so as not to expose the Hudson's Bay Company and me to a fine, but they would work for themselves and no service would be exacted from them."

Here was a policy for beginning settlement, already thought out and formulated, and there are several noteworthy things about it. One is that only the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company were contemplated in it. Quite likely the doctor supposed at that time that no others, or at most but few others, would come to the country to settle, for many years to come. No others were near. The sovereignty of the country was in doubt. There was no way in which title to land could be obtained. Under arrangements then existing, the country was equally open to citizens of the United States and the subjects of Great Britain, and if both should come in considerable numbers war might result, indeed would be likely to result, and it would be civil war—war in its most cruel and distressing form, among the settlers. As McLoughlin knew nothing about the spirit of the American settlers, it is not surprising that he may have thought it improbable that they would ever willingly face such prospects at these.

While his plan permitted settlement, it permitted it in such a way that the Company would still retain control of the settlers. Their names were kept on its books, for a reason which the doctor explains, and indeed it seems sufficient for keeping them there, and while no service was exacted from them, there can be no doubt that these men, who had spent so many years in the service of the Company, still felt themselves more or less bound to it by the fact that they were held to be nominally in its employ, as a condition for permitting them to settle, and for supplying them with the means to set up homes of their own. They were provided with cattle, as the doctor further explains, but these were only loaned, and their increase was to go back to the Company, and as the Company alone could purchase such

surplus produce as they might have to sell, and supply them with such goods as they might require in exchange for it, their dependence upon it was in every way made complete. Under a more exacting and less considerate control than that of McLoughlin, their condition might have been one little better than that of complete servitude.

“Many of the Canadians objected to go to the Willamette,” the doctor further says, “because it was to become American Territory, which I told them it would, and they were afraid they would not have the same advantages of American citizens. I told them from the fertility of the soil, the extent of prairie, and the easy access from the sea that the Willamette, they must admit, was the best and only place adapted to form a settlement, which would have a beneficial effect on the whole country north of San Francisco, where we could assist and protect them from the Indians in case of difficulty, and as to advantages, I did not know what they would have, but this I knew, that the American Government and people knew only two classes of persons, rogues and honest men; that they punished the first and protected the last, and it depended only upon themselves to what class they would belong.

“Others wanted to go and live with the relatives of their wives, but as their children would be brought up with the sympathies and feelings of Indians, and as the half-breeds are in general leaders among Indians, and they would be a thorn in the side of the whites, I insisted they should go to the Willamette, where their children could be brought up as whites and Christians, and brought to cultivate the ground, and be imbued with the feelings and sympathies of whites, and where they and their mothers would serve as hostages for the good behavior of their relatives in the interior.”

From this it is evident that the doctor, and not the settlers themselves, determined where they were to settle, and he sent them to the south side of the Columbia against their will, or at least when they would have preferred to remain north of it. All the reasons he has given for sending them to the Willamette could have been as well urged in favor of the Cowlitz. The soil there was as fertile, it was even more accessible from the sea, and the Company could quite as easily protect them there, in case of trouble with the Indians. The Company could not hope, at least for many years to come, to use the whole, or even the greater part of the Cowlitz Valley, for its own farming purposes. If settlers in any way interfered with the fur trade, they would do less to injure it, if they were grouped about the Company's own farms, than if scattered over an entirely new region where no land was under cultivation. It seems probable therefore that there were other reasons than those the doctor has given for sending them to the Willamette.

He says the Hudson's Bay Company informed him in 1825, officially, that in no event could the claim of the British government extend south of the Columbia. The British plenipotentiaries had, in the negotiations of 1824, offered to make the Columbia the boundary, but the proposition had not been accepted, and the British government had not, by that offer, waived pretensions to claims further south. In fact in another negotiation begun in 1826, it was maintained, on the part of Great Britain, that the restoration of Astoria could not have been legally claimed in 1818, and that the American settlement there must be considered as an encroachment on its territory. McLoughlin was doubtless aware, no matter what official information he had received from the Hudson's Bay Company, that the claims of both

countries to the territory of Oregon were based upon discovery, exploration and settlement. So far as discovery and exploration were concerned, the facts were already as well defined and established as they could be. But settlement might strengthen the claim of either; it was in fact the influx of American settlers into the region that finally aroused Congress, and made the settlement of the boundary question imperative. On this subject Mr. Greenhow says: "the object of the Company (Hudson's Bay) was, therefore, to place a large number of British subjects in Oregon, within the shortest time, and of course to exclude from it as much as possible, all people of the United States; so that when the period for terminating the convention with the latter power should arrive, Great Britain might be able to present the strongest title to the possession of the whole, on the ground of actual occupation, by the Hudson's Bay Company."

Dr. McLoughlin was undoubtedly, at this period, as loyal a Briton as if he had been born in England. It is quite conceivable that he hoped to increase the area of British possessions, especially when it seemed possible to add to them so broad and beautiful and fertile a country as Oregon, and particularly if he could do so, as seemed possible, by benefiting and not by slaughtering his fellow men. Nothing could be more natural than that he should look upon the valleys and mountains south of the river and say, as Cecil Rhodes is reported to have said in contemplating the map of South Africa, "All this for England." If so he took an effective means to win it. He acted upon the light that was in him. In his remote situation he could not be fully, or as accurately informed as to what the exact situation was as others might be, and must rely solely upon the information that others, who ought to have as great, or greater interest in the matter

than he had, should furnish him. From this information he seems to have assumed that the British title to all north of the Columbia was secure. If so, there was no need to strengthen it by further settlements, and every settler he could send into the Willamette Valley would help to prepare the way for British diplomats to win it.

He therefore urged Lucier and Labonte to go to the Willamette, and in due time, William Cannon the millwright, Alexander Carson and Joseph Gervais, all of whom had come out with the Astor colony, followed them. Still other old servants of the Company, who had come out later direct from Canada, joined them, and in 1843 there seems to have been fifty-two families who had settled there, through Hudson's Bay influence—enough to have defeated the formation of the provisional government, if they had all voted together, for the vote on that memorable occasion stood fifty-two for, to fifty against, and two of his colonists voted with the Americans.

Not all of these colonists, it is true, had been employees of the Company. Some of them had come out from Lord Selkirk's Red River colony in 1841 to be located at Nisqually, but they had refused to remain there, and had drifted to the Willamette. But these were not numerous. There were only twenty-three families in the party, and some of them remained at Nisqually, some removed to the Cowlitz, some to the Willamette and some went to California. It is claimed that the Company did not carry out the promises made to these people before they left Red River. However this may be it is certain that the Company was less strengthened by their presence in Oregon than might have been the case; had more attention been paid to their wishes after their arrival. For this Sir George Simpson, who was at Fort Vancouver

when they arrived, and not Dr. McLoughlin, is at fault. Had Sir George entered heartily into the chief factor's plans and given them earnest support; had he permitted these immigrants to be made comfortable, and encouraged others to follow them as he might easily have done, the whole course of events south of the Columbia might have been different.

How different it might have been it is perhaps not profitable now to consider; but that it might easily have been vastly different and far more tragic than it was, will be easily discerned if we consider with some care what the chief factor's powers and duties were; how much was entrusted to him and how much was expected from him.

In July 1821 the British Parliament had passed an act authorizing the king to grant, or give license "to anybody corporate, company, or person for the exclusive privilege of trading with the Indians, in all such parts of North America as may be specified by the grants, not being part of the territories previously granted to the Hudson's Bay Company, or of any of his Majesty's provinces in North America, or any territories belonging to the United States; provided however that no such grant or license shall be for a longer period than twenty-one years; that no grant or license for exclusive trade in the part of America west of the Stony Mountains, which, by the convention of 1818 with the United States, remained free and open to the subjects or citizens of both nations, shall be used to the prejudice, or exclusion of citizens of the United States engaged in such trade; and that no British subject shall trade in those territories west of the Stony Mountains, without such license or grant." By this same act the courts of upper Canada were empowered "to take cognizance of all causes, civil or criminal, arising in any of

the above mentioned territories, not within the limits of the provinces of upper or lower Canada, or of any civil government of the United States, and justices of the peace are to be commissioned in these territories, to execute and enforce the decisions of the courts, to take evidence, and commit offenders, and send them for trial to Canada," and even under certain circumstances to hold courts themselves, for the trial of criminal offences and misdemeanors not punishable by death, and of civil causes, in which the amount at issue should not exceed two hundred pounds.

Under this act a license was first issued to the Hudson's Bay Company and three of the partners in the Northwest Fur Company, giving them the exclusive right to trade in all the country claimed both by England and the United States west of the Rocky Mountains, for a period of twenty-one years. The differences between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Northwest Fur Company were soon after settled, and the license thereafter ran to the Hudson's Bay Company alone, and when it was renewed in 1838, it was given to the Hudson's Bay Company only. With the privileges which this license granted, went also its responsibilities. As the Company's agents and officers were the only white people in this region, at the beginning and for a long time after, it was from among them that the justices and other officers, charged with the duty of enforcing law, and maintaining order, were appointed, and the chief factor was to have supreme authority over and responsibility for all, as well as for the management of the Company's business.

By the terms of this act of Parliament, the license issued by the king, and the conditions of his employment as chief executive officer of his Company, the chief factor was placed in a position which finally became one of great difficulty,

requiring the utmost tact, firmness and sound judgment, to prevent complications that might lead to consequences of the most serious nature—even to war itself. He was in a broad territory that was claimed by two powers, and by a solemn compact between them, was equally open to the people of both for the purpose of trade or settlement. Only one of them, and that was the one he represented, made any effort to provide laws for it. By the terms of his employment as chief factor, he was expected, and indeed required, to do all that might be done to protect his Company in its monopoly of the fur trade, against all competitors. By the specific declaration of the law he was to do nothing “to the prejudice or exclusion of the citizens of the United States engaged in such trade.” It would be difficult to frame more specific instructions requiring one to serve both God and Mammon.

The difficulties he encountered from the first were great, and grew greater and more varied, and might easily have become insurmountable if he had managed with less tact, and especially with less justice. To secure and retain control of the Indians, and establish the business of the Company all along the coast, was a comparatively simple undertaking. To build up new lines of business, to add new sources of profit for the present, and provide a trade for the future when the fur business should decline, as he foresaw it must,—and to do this without the encouragement, and indeed in opposition to the traditions of his superiors, was more difficult, and more clearly showed his strength of character and business ability. But it was when the American traders, trappers and settlers began to appear on the scene that his greatest difficulties arose. Among the earlier settlers, as well as among the trappers, were many who cared little for

the rights of others. Many of them came as avowed crusaders, intending to defy him in his stronghold, and drive him out of the country which they fancied he ruled as an usurper and a tyrant. Many of the peaceable and law-respecting settlers came with this idea. Most men wielding the authority, backed by the power which he controlled, would have failed through misuse of it. Had he used power instead of tact to subdue these turbulent spirits; had he sought to curb lawlessness by force, untempered with mercy; had he relied upon the law rather than upon justice, or had he relied upon the advice of others rather than upon his own sound judgment, it is easy now to see that complications must certainly have arisen that would have led surely and swiftly to disaster.

One of his gravest difficulties was to make the Indians understand that all white people were to be equally respected. They quickly saw that the American traders and trappers were unwelcome in the country, and the American settlers even less welcome. They would have gladly exterminated them if they had not been restrained from doing so. It was frequently necessary to demonstrate that the Company intended to protect the Americans quite as carefully as its own people, and we know that the task was a most ungrateful one to some of the chief factor's associates. When Jedediah Smith's party was attacked and robbed in the Umpqua country, as will be seen in a following chapter, and an expedition was sent out from the fort to recover the property stolen, it was sent much against the wishes of some of the chief factor's advisers. William Todd says of it: "Another expedition must now be fitted out to recover this gentleman's property, and this was not a very popular measure either with men or gentlemen, as it was thought we would have

difficulty enough to hold our own, being already at war to the northward, but the doctor would have his way.”* By thus having his way the doctor in time made it so clear to the Indians that the rights of Americans were to be respected, as well as those of the British and Canadians, that when sometime later an American ship went aground in the Columbia, and was abandoned by her officers and crew, who supposed they could not defend themselves against the savages, they found later, when they returned under the protection of an escort from the fort, that not a single article, even of most trifling value, had apparently been touched.

While all the American traders who came to the country were met with the keenest and most merciless competition, they were personally treated with all the courtesy they could desire, and even with a generous hospitality. If hospitality was withheld it was for what appeared to be sufficient reason, but the demands of humanity were not neglected. Ewing Young and Hall J. Kelly were given no welcome, such as was extended to Wyeth and Bonneville, but it was because of the unfavorable report of them which had been received from the Spanish governor of California. But they were not allowed to suffer, even although they were at the time supposed to be horse thieves, and in Young's case, proper reparation was made, or at least offered, as soon as the truth was learned.

When the missionaries came they were given a hearty welcome, without inquiry as to their creed or faith, and they were assisted in every way to begin and prosecute their work. For the assistance thus given some of them made a most most ungrateful return. When the settlers arrived later the

* William Todd to Edward Ermatinger, July 1829; see the *Historical Quarterly* for July 1907.

greatest and most perplexing difficulties arose, but they were all so promptly met and so admirably disposed of that posterity will forever approve and admire the policy pursued. It was not popular at the time. It was not in the nature of things that it should be so. No man was ever more unjustly or bitterly reviled, or persecuted, and never was there one of whom men spake all manner of evil more continually, and yet he triumphed over all. And when he died men said of him, "This was the good doctor, the great doctor, Doctor John McLoughlin."

APPENDIX.

ON THE DISCOVERY AND FIRST OCCUPATION OF COLUMBIA RIVER.

I, Charles Bulfinch, of Boston, in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, of lawful age, testify and declare that, in the year 1787, Joseph Barell, Esq. a distinguished merchant of Boston, projected a voyage of commerce and discovery to the northwest coast of America, and associated with him for that purpose, the following named persons, and in the following proportions, to wit: Samuel Brown, one-seventh prt; John Derby, one-seventh; Crowell Hatch, one-seventh; John M. Pintard, one-seventh; and the deponent, one-seventh; reserving to himself two-sevenths of the concern. That, for the purpose of this voyage, the ship *Columbia*, under the command of John Kendrick, and the sloop *Washington*, commanded by Robery Gray, were equipped, provided with suitable cargoes for traffic with the natives of the northwest coast. That so remarkable was the expedition considered, it being the first attempt from the United States to circumnavigate the globe, that medals were struck, both in silver and copper, bearing on one side the representation of the two vessels, and on the other the names of the owners. Very particular sailing orders were agreed to, and signed by Mr. Barrell, as agent for the owners, and by the captains, officers, and seamen of both vessels, in which the course of the voyage, and the traffic with the natives, were pointed out; and it was specially provided that all transaction of business should be on the sole account of the owners. Mr. J. Howell, a very intelligent Englishman, went as clerk to Captain Kendrick. These vessels left Boston in the autumn of 1787. After long delay, they reached Nootka sound, and proceeded to traffic with the natives for furs; and when a sufficient quantity had been collected, Captain Kendrick put Captain Gray in command of the ship *Columbia*, to proceed with the cargo of furs for Canton, while he remained on the coast, with the sloop *Washington*, to make further collections of furs. Captain Gray proceeded to Canton, made sale of his furs, and purchased a cargo of teas, with which he returned to Boston. The result of the voyage disappointed the expectation of its projectors, the proceeds of the teas not being equal to the cost of outfit, and the unforeseen expenses in Canton and elsewhere; so that Messrs. Derby and Pintard would not pursue the enterprise further, but sold their shares in the vessels to Messrs. Barrell and Brown. They, with the other owners, determined to send Captain Gray, in command of the *Columbia* to the coast for the furs which, it was supposed, Captain Kendrick had been collecting. In this ship, Mr. John Hoskins, a young man who had been in Mr. Barrell's counting room, and who was

in his confidence, was sent as Captain's clerk, with the design of attending to sales and purchases. Captain Gray proceeded to the northwest coast, and on the 7th of May, 1792, came in sight of land, in latitude $46^{\circ} 58'$, and anchored in, what he named, Bulfinch's harbor. On the 11th, he entered the mouth of a large river, and on the 14th, sailed up the same about fifteen miles. This river he named Columbia, after the name of his ship; the north side of the entrance, Cape Hancock, and the south side, Point Adams. Captain Gray remained in this river until the morning of the 21st of May. The knowledge of these facts was obtained as follows; After Captain Gray had made a second voyage to Canton, he returned to Boston with a cargo of teas. It was determined by the owners to prosecute the voyage no further with the ship, but to leave Captain Kendrick in the sloop Washington, to attend to their interests on the coast. Intelligence was obtained from Captain Gray of the discovery of Columbia river; but nothing was done in consequence of it until 1816, when Samuel Brown, Esq., the principal living owner, after the death of Joseph Barrell, Esq., requested the deponent to make inquiry after Captain Gray's papers, and to take correct copies of all proceedings relative thereto; and this was done in consequence of President Madison's application to him for information. The deponent accordingly applied to the friends of the widow of Captain Gray; and, after some time spent in the search obtained from Mr. Silas Atkins, a brother of the widow Gray, the original log-book of the ship Columbia, while under the command of Captain Gray, from which he made the following extract:

From the Log-Book of the ship Columbia, Robery Gray, master, 1792. "May 7, 1792, A. M.—Being within six miles of the land, saw an entrance in the same, which had a very good appearance of a harbor; lowered away the jolly boat, and went in search of an anchoring place, the ship standing to and fro, with a very strong weather current. At 1 P. M. the boat returned, having found no place where the ship could anchor with safety; made sail on the ship—stood in for the shore. We soon saw, from our mast head, a passage in between the sand bars. At half past three, bore away, and run in northeast by east, having from four to eight fathoms, sandy bottom; and, as we drew in nearer between the bars, had from ten to thirteen fathoms, having a very strong tide of ebb to stem. Many canoes came alongside. At 5 P. M. came to, in five fathoms water, sandy bottom, in a safe harbor, well sheltered from the sea by long sand bars and spits. Our latitude observed, this day, was $46^{\circ} 58'$ north.

"May 10.—Fresh breezes, and pleasant weather; many natives along side; at noon, all the canoes left us. At 1 P. M., began to unmoor, took up the best bower anchor, and hove short on the small bower anchor. At half past four, being high water, hove up the anchor, and same to sail and a beating down the harbor.

"May 11.—At half past seven, we were out clear of the bars, and directed our course to the southward, along shore. At 8 P. M., the entrance of Bulfinch's harbor bore north, distance four miles, the southern extremity of the land bore south-southeast half east, and the northern north northwest—sent up the maintop gallant-yard and set all sail. At 4 A. M. saw the entrance of our desired port bearing east-southeast, distance six leagues; in steering sails, and hauled our wind in shore. At 8 A. M., being a little to windward of the entrance of the harbor, bore away and run in east northeast, between the breakers, having from five to seven fathoms of water. When we were over the bar, we found this to be a large river of fresh water, up which we steered. Many canoes came alongside. At 1 P. M. came to with the small bower, in ten fathoms, black and white sand; the entrance between the bars bore west southwest, distant ten miles. The north side of the river, a half mile distant from the ship; the south side of the same two and a half mile distance; a village on the north side of the river west by north, distant three-quarters of a mile. Vast numbers of natives came alongside; people employed in pumping the salt water out of our water casks, in order to fill with fresh, while the ship floated in. So ends.

"May 12.—Many natives alongside; noon, fresh wind; let go the best bower anchor and veered out on both cables. Sent down the maintop-gallant-yard, filled up all the water casks in the hold. The latter part, heavy gales, and rainy, dirty weather.

"May 13.—Fresh winds, and rainy weather, many natives alongside. Hove up the best bower anchor. Seamen and tradesmen at their various departments.

"May 14.—Fresh gales and cloudy; many natives alongside; at noon, weighed and came to sail, standing up the river northeast by east; we found the channel very narrow. At 4 P. M. we had sailed upwards of twelve or fifteen miles, when the channel was so very narrow that it was almost impossible to keep in it, having from three to eighteen fathoms water, sandy bottom; at half past four, the ship took ground: but she did not stay long before she came off, without any assistance. We backed her off, stern foremost, into three fathoms, and let go the small bower, and moored ship with kedge and hawser. The jolly boat was sent to sound the channel out, but found it not navigable any further up; so, of course, we must have taken the wrong channel. So ends, with rainy weather, many natives alongside.

"Tuesday, May 15.—Light airs and pleasant weather; many natives from different tribes came alongside. At 10 A. M. unmoored and dropped down with the tide to a better anchoring place. Smiths and other tradesmen constantly employed. In the afternoon, Captain Gray and Mr. Hoskins, in the jolly boat, went on shore to take a short view of the country.

"May 16.—Light airs and cloudy; at 4 A. M. hove up the anchor and towed down about three miles, with the last of the ebb tide: came into six fathoms, sandy bottom, the jolly boat sounding the channel. At 10 A. M. a fresh breeze came up river. With the first of the ebb tide we got under way and beat down river. At 1, from its being very squally, we came to, about two miles from the village, *Chinook*, which bore west southwest. Many natives alongside; fresh gales and squally.

"May 17.—Fresh winds and squally; many canoes alongside. Caulkers caulking the pinnace; seamen paying the ship's sides with tar; painter painting ship; smith and carpenters at their departments.

"May 18.—Pleasant weather; at 4 in the morning began to heave ahead; at $\frac{1}{2}$ past came to sail, standing down river with the ebb tide; at 7, being slack water and the wind fluttering, we came to in five fathoms, sandy bottom; the entrance between the bars bore southwest by west, distance three miles. At 9 a breeze sprang up from the eastward; took up the anchor and came to sail, but the wind soon came fluttering again. Came to with the kedg and hawser, veered out fifty fathoms. Noon pleasant. Latitude observed $46^{\circ} 17'$ north. At 1, came to sail with the first of the ebb tide, and drifted down broadside, with light airs and strong tide; at three-quarters past, a fresh wind came from the northward; wore ship and stood into the river again. At 4 came to in six fathoms; good holding ground, about six or seven miles up; many canoes alongside.

"May 19.—Fresh wind and clear weather. Early a number of canoes came alongside; seamen and tradesmen employed in their various departments.

Captain Gray gave this river the name of Columbia's river, and the north side of the entrance Cape Hancock; the south, Adams's point.

"May 20.—Gentle breezes and pleasant weather. At 1 P. M. being full sea, took up the anchor and made sail, standing down river. At 2, the wind left us, we being on the bar with a very strong tide, which set on the breakers; it was now not possible to get out without a breeze to shoot her across the tide; so we were obliged to bring up in $3\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms, the tide running 5 knots. At three-quarters past 2, a fresh wind came in from seaboard; we immediately came to sail and beat over the bar, having from 5 to 7 fathoms water in the channel. At 5 P. M. we were out, clear of all the bars, and in 20 fathoms water. A breeze came from the southward; we bore away to the northward; set all sail to the best advantage. At 8, Cape Hancock bore southeast, distant three leagues; the north extremity of the land in sight bore north by west. At 9, in steering and top gallant sails. Midnight, light airs.

"May 21.—At 6 A. M., the nearest land in sight bore east southeast, distant eight leagues. At 7, set top gallant sails and light stay sails. At 11, set steering sails fore and aft. Noon, pleasant agreeable weather.

The entrance of Bulfinch's harbor bore southeast by east half east, distant five leagues."

The deponent hereby certifies that the above extract contains everything relating to the discovery of Columbia River, which was contained in the log book kept by Captain Gray, on board the ship Columbia.

And the deponent further certifies, that in the month of September, in the past year, 1837, he was applied to by Slacum, Esq. of Alexandria, in the District of Columbia, for any information which he might possess on this subject; that he exhibited to Mr. Salacum such papers and documents relating to the subject as were in his possession, and referred him to the widow of Captain Gray, or to her descendants for the original log-book before mentioned; that in consequence of this, Mr. Slacum employed Thomas Bulfinch, a son of the deponent, to make inquiry and search for said original log-book; that said Thomas Bulfinch, accordingly made such inquiry, and found that Capt. Silas Atkins and Mrs. Gray, widow of Captain Robbery Gray, had both departed this life several years since; that there were no surviving immediate descendants of Captain Gray, but that Mrs. Nash, a niece of Mrs. Gray, was probably possessed of all the papers that related to his command of the Columbia. Thomas Bulfinch then applied to Mrs. Nash, who very readily handed to him one log-book of the ship Columbia, containing minutes of her voyage from Boston to the straits of John de Fuca, in 1791, but stated that another log book, which contained the proceedings at Columbia river in 1792, had been used as waste paper, and was entirely destroyed. Upon hearing this, the deponent determined to draw up a statement, *in perpetuam rei memoriam*, of all the evidence now to be obtained of the discovery of said Columbia river, he being the only survivor of the original undertakers of the enterprise, and having outlived, at the age of 75, all who, as officers or seamen, were engaged in the operations of the Columbia and Washington; which statement may in future be important in determining the right of the United States to the honor of discovering the river, and, consequently, to the right of jurisdiction over the country adjacent.

CHARLES BULFINCH.

United States, }
Massachusetts District. }

Then Charles Bulfinch, Esq., of the city of Boston, personally appeared and made oath to the truth of the within declaration, (by him written and subscribed,) so far as relates to particulars stated as within his own knowledge, and in regard to all other facts and circumstances therein expressed, that he believes the same to be true.

Before me,

JOHN DAVIS,

Judge of U. S. District Court, Mass. District.

Boston, April 21, 1838.

This book is under no circumstances to be taken from the Building

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